A SIXTEENTH CENTURY DEVĪMĀHĀTMYA MANUSCRIPT FROM KANGRA

by

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PREFACE

For the past few decades Pahari painting from India was thought to have begun sometime in the early part of the second half of the seventeenth century, around 1660. The evidence available, both literary and visual, did not justify any attribution of painting to the Pahari area before this date despite the fact that a vigorous interest in painting existed in almost every other area of northern India during the sixteenth century, and in many places, even earlier.

The Pahari paintings which have been attributed to 1660 and termed "early hill painting" are not naive, rudimentary or unsophisticated in either their technical quality or in their compositional elements as would be expected from works which represent the beginning of a tradition. Rather, they are highly accomplished in their style, color usage and complex organization of figures.

These facts have led many art historians to believe that painting from the Pahari area must pre-date 1660, leading to a search for material to substantiate this concept.

In 1977 a fully illustrated manuscript of the Devīmāhātmya was discovered in India. It was brought to the atten-

tion of Dr. V.C. Ohri, director of the Himachal Pradesh State Museum by a graduate student at Himachal Pradesh University, Kailash Katoch. He had found the manuscript in the small town of Bijapur, eastern Kangra state, in the possession of a brahmin family. Dr. Ohri negotiated with Mr. Katoch and succeeded in purchasing the manuscript for his museum.

It was in February and March, 1978, while in India on a research grant from the JDR 3rd Fund that I first was able to see this Devīmāhātmya manuscript, illustrated in a sixteenth century style. I thought this manuscript to be significant for a number of reasons. First, it contained the only examples of sixteenth century painting to be found in the hills. The history of the manuscript is fairly well documented. Secondly, there was a colophon which gave a date and a place of production. This kind of information is always of special significance to an art historian. And, on first glance it appeared that the illustrations related to similar themes expressed in painting or sculpture known to come from the hills. All of these factors indicated that the manuscript might prove to be the earliest example of Pahari painting, and as a result, would move back the beginning of painting in the hills from the second half of the seventeenth century to some time in the sixteenth century. For these reasons the manuscript deserved extensive research and investigation.

Without the initial support of the JDR 3rd Fund as well as the continual enthusiasm and interest shown by the director, Richard Lanier, in my project, this dissertation would not have been possible. To them I owe my deepest gratitude.

Dr. V.C. Ohri, director of the Himachal Pradesh State Museum, Simla, deserves a large measure of thanks for allowing me to use the Devīmāhātmya manuscript for my doctoral dissertation topic. He was most generous in providing me with the freedom to work on this revolutionary manuscript in the possession of his museum, before even a preliminary report on the manuscript was published.

Others in the scholarly field have shared their thoughts on various aspects of the manuscript with me and the discussions were most rewarding. Among them are: W.G. Archer, J.P. Losty, R.Skelton, G. Bhattacharya and G. Vajracharya, all of whom deserve appreciation.

All of my committee members, Susan Larson, Ruth Weisberg, Robert Ellwood, Charles Weber, and Pratapaditya Pal took unusual interest in my subject and I want to thank them for constant encouragement. Special mention must be given to my chairman, Pratapaditya Pal, who has for many years offered discussion and advice, sharing information and always giving support at the needed moments.

Many associates at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art assumed additional workloads, allowing me to pursue the

reasearch on this manuscript. Special appreciation is given to Virginia Dofflemyer and Patricia Pendleton of the Indian and Islamic Department. The staff of the photography studio, Edward Cornachio, Adam Avila, and Kent Kiyomura showed their fine technical skills and good nature in producing quality photographs from less than excellent negatives. I am sincerely grateful.

I hope that all the above who contributed to this dissertation will be pleased with the end result.

I. INTRODUCTION

This dissertation deals with a newly discovered copy of the Devīmāhātmya text.[1] It is a complete, illustrated manuscript and is important because it was found in the Pahari region of India, a remote and isolated section, and contains a colophon giving a place and date of production.

The manuscript consists of eighteen loose paper folios measuring five inches high by twelve inches wide (folios 1A to 18B). The text is contained on each side of every folio, and each folio is illuminated on both sides. The script is in Devanāgari, the primary script of northern India. The language used for the text is Sanskrit. Most folios have fifteen lines of text; however, occasionally there are fourteen or sixteen lines. The calligraphy is not of the finest quality. At the center of each leaf is a rosette or lotus, with a blank round area in the center. This alludes to the hole through which a string would pass in order to hold the manuscript leaves together. There is no actual hole however. The folios are in excellent condition with little or no damage. It is possible that the manuscript originally had covers, but they were not with the manuscript at the time of purchase.

The six chapters of this dissertation will analyze

the manuscript, each from a different point of view. In this introductory chapter, in addition to outlining the structure of the dissertation, a synopsis of the Devīmāhātmya story will be presented. In chapter two each of the eighteen folios is described; the seventy-two illustrated vertical panels, as well as the horizontal decorative margin designs. The concern of the third chapter is the iconography of the illustrations in the vertical panels. The identification of the subject matter of these panels is then related to the Devīmāhātmya text, or to other areas of Indian iconography, whichever is applicable. Stylistic analysis of the illustrations and their relationship to other examples of painting from various parts of India will constitute the fourth chapter, thereby establishing a chronology for the manuscript based on visual evidence. The fifth chapter provides further information to justify the date and provenance of the manuscript which is stated in the colophon of folio 18B. An interpretation of the colophon will be provided, along with comparisons to visual and epigraphic material, further fortifying the conclusions regarding date and provenance. The last chapter will assess the current state of knowledge regarding early Pahari painting and will place this newly discovered manuscript within a historical context, thereby establishing the importance of this manuscript to the study of Indian painting.

The Simla manuscript is a complete version of the thirteen chapters of the Devīmāhātmya, a Sanskrit poem glorifying the goddess, the Devī. It is the consensus of scholarly opinion that the Devīmāhātmya originated in some area of western India, near the Vindhya Hill region, perhaps near Ujjain or Mandhāta.[2] The body of the text contains a series of episodes in which the goddess uses her military might to triumph over a multitude of adversaries, known as asuras.

Many of the manifestations of the goddess in the Devīmāhātmya show her in her terrible forms: Kālī, Bhadrakālī, Chamuṇḍa, and Durgā. Sacrifices and sanguine ritual are associated with these forms of the goddess, stressing her terrific nature. Human and blood sacrifices were common among the tribal peoples of western central India, bordering on the Vindhya range, and the adoption of numerous examples of this type of worship in the Devīmāhātmya[3] may have been influenced by these non-brahmanic forms of ritual.[4] Pargiter, the translator of the Devīmāhātmya, puts forth this point and states that both Śiva and his consort, the Devī, were worshipped in this type of sanguinary form at Mandhāta,[5] offering further evidence for a western Indian origin. He also states that the region of the Narbada valley, near Mandhāta, was especially connected with demon legends and informs us that a town in the area, Mahesar, is named after the buffalo demon Mahisha,

who is one of the principal asuras in the Devīmāhātmya.[6]

Illustrated versions of the Devīmāhātmya in the Western India style (figs.30,31) are known as early as the fifteenth century. Numerous copies of the manuscript in this style are known from later periods as well.[7] Yet the poem received its most avid support among the worshippers of Kali, the most ferocious aspect of the goddess, in Bengal, though the text did not originate in that region.

The date of the original composition of the Devī-māhātmya is determined by a complex process since it involves the use of other Sanskrit texts to establish the exact chronological placement. A copy of the Devīmāhātmya, written in Newari and dated to 998 A.D. has been found in Nepal.[8] Given the time it would have taken for this material to reach Nepal from India, we can reasonably conclude that the origin of the text in India is no later than the early tenth century. Scholars of Sanskrit literature believe that Bāṇabhatta's Caṇḍīśataka, of the seventh century, bases the buffalo-killing incident on that of the Devī-māhātmya.[9] Based on this, the text must pre-date the seventh century. Finally, through comparisons with other purāṇas which have similar linguistic elements, the Devī-māhātmya can safely be ascribed to a date of the fifth-sixth century, a period when the non-Aryan, warrior goddess was gaining importance over the Vedic male pantheon.

The concept of the goddess as a huntress and warrior

is generally regarded as an import into India.[10] Shortly after its introduction this aspect was combined with the indigenous mother-goddess, fertility aspect of the goddess, giving the Indian goddess a composite nature: that of a benign nourishing mother-goddess, and that of a ferocious, protective warrior goddess.

In all areas of India, among the devotees of the Devī, known as the śāktas, the Devīmāhātmya is the holiest of texts. The thirteen chapters contain many of the basic tenents primary to śākta belief: the origin of the goddess from the energies of the gods (2:8-18); the birth of the seven mothers, the saptamātrikās (Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhi, Narāsiṃhi, Indrāṇi) the energies of the seven main male gods (8:11-21); the birth of Kālī (7:4-8); the death of Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa and the emergence of the Chamuṇḍa form of the goddess (7:24-25); and lastly, the declaration that through devotion to the goddess, the worshipper will achieve salvation (12:1-28). To the śāktas the recitation of the Devīmāhātmya is the ultimate form of pūjā and it is recited on all occasions in which help from the goddess is sought. During the autumn festivals to the goddess it is chanted continuously for a number of days.

The text of the Devīmāhātmya is in the form of a dialogue between the sage, Medhas, and the king Suratha and

his merchant companion, Samādhi. The latter two have questioned the sage about the origin and nature of the goddess. The tale of the Devīmāhātmya is his answer to their queries.

In the opening chapters of the text Brahma is in danger of losing his life at the hands of two demon brothers, Madhu and Kaiṭabha. This scene takes place at the moment of creation, when Brahma sits on the lotus growing up from Viṣṇu's navel as Viṣṇu sleeps in his yogic trance on the serpent (nāga) Śesha, on the cosmic ocean. Since Viṣṇu is deep in his trance, he is of no aid to Brahma in fending off the two demons. The Devī, in her yoganidrā aspect, is in control of Viṣṇu's sleep so it is to the goddess that Brahma makes an ardent appeal. As a result of his earnest prayer, she removes her spell and Viṣṇu awakens. Once awake, he begins to do battle with the asuras, a battle which lasts five thousand years. Viṣṇu finally uses his discus to slice Madhu and Kaiṭabha into pieces. This restores peace to the world and the act of creation continues. Inherent in this episode is the message that it was through the power of the goddess that Viṣṇu was able to fulfill his role as the great preserver, of restoring peace. Even the gods at times are in need of extraordinary power, supplied by the Devī, in order to complete their tasks.

The second major episode in the text concerns the demon Mahisha, a mighty buffalo-demon who had defeated the

gods in battle after a war of one hundred years. As part of his victory he drove them from the heavenly kingdom and moved in himself, ruling in their place. The gods were beside themselves and sought the advice of Śiva and Viṣṇu to solve the predicament.

After hearing of the misfortunes suffered by the gods, Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Brahma became exceedingly angry. From this anger, and the anger of the other gods, emerged a female, illuminating the world with her splendor. She was known in the form as Chaṇḍīka. Each of the gods then gave her a weapon so that she was armed to the fullest extent. Mounted on her lion, this goddess, the concentration of the energies of all the gods, slew the demon army, and finally the great buffalo headed asura, Mahisha, himself. Indra and the other gods were exultant to be rid of this foe and to be in possession of their kingdom again. They showered the goddess with praise and lauded her with hymns, extoling her victory and power.

For the majority of the śāktas, this episode above all others is the most important in the text. It recounts the birth of the goddess from the energies of the gods. It also symbolizes the unusual dual character of the goddess: her motherly concern and her valor as a warrior.

Peace reigned in the world for a period of time, but then another menacing situation emerged, which could only be eliminated through the power of the goddess. For a

third time the gods suffered harassment, this time from two brothers, Śumbha and Niśumbha. Once again, the gods resorted to their protectoress, the all-pervading goddess. In a long series of hymns and prayers they showed their adoration to her and beseeched her for help. The two demons had won a battle against the gods and had ousted them from paradise. But before the Devī could begin to act against them, some of the servants of Śumbha saw her bathing and reported her extraordinary beauty to their master. Śumbha was filled with desire for the goddess and sent his messenger Sugrīva to woo the Devī and bring her back to him to be his wife. To entrap the demon, she told the messenger that she could only marry someone who was able to defeat her in battle, through his superior strength. This enraged Śumbha and he immediately sent out an army to destroy this arrogant woman. Led by the general Dhūmralocaṇa, the attack was unsuccessful and the general himself met with a fiery end. Another army was sent against the goddess, this time led by two generals, Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa. In order to deal with these two, the goddess created an extremely ferocious form of herself, Kālī, who used her sword and dagger to fell Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa. The goddess designated this form of herself with the name Chamuṇḍa, to commemorate the killing of Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa.

The demons were now at a loss and in a last effort sent out a third army with Rakta-vīja at the head. This

demon Rakta-vīja had the unusual quality of reproducing another asura from each drop of blood that fell from his body. Despite this seemingly unconquerable characteristic, the goddess was able to triumph by having Kālī drink the blood before it dropped to the ground, while she, Chaṇḍika, killed him with her thunderbolt.

It was during this part of the battle that the creation of the saptamātrikās, the seven mothers, took place. These are the female energies associated with the male gods: Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhi, Narāsiṃhi, and Indrāṇi. They proceeded to help the goddess in her struggle to destroy the armies of Śumbha and Niśumbha.

Finally, Śumbha and Niśumbha themselves enter into battle with the goddess. Despite their strength, they are no match for Chaṇḍika and she eliminated them, one after the other.

The gods are saved again, for the third time. With Indra and Agni at their head they recite new hymns of praise in honor of the Devī.

In the last part of the text the Devī recites her various future manifestations during different ages for the purpose of destroying evil, and for sustaining the world. This quality of the goddess is of course markedly close to that of Viṣṇu in the Bhāgavat Gītā and his avatara aspect of assuming incarnations when necessary to save the world from peril or evil.

One of the most important messages to be expressed by the Devī in this last section is her assurance that through loving devotion, bhakti, she will reside in and never fail her devotees. She makes a vow to the gods that she will remove all trouble and despair from the life of each supplicant who praises her with hymns. Any place where the Devīmāhātmya poem is recited with love and devotion will always remain free from calamities, poverty, and deprivation. When men listen to the reading of the Devīmāhātmya they will achieve prosperity and joy will come to their families; their enemies will be destroyed just as the goddess triumphed over the demons, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, Mahisha, Śumbha and Niśumbha.

The overriding concept of bhakti which is found in the last part of the poem accounts for much of the popularity of the text among the śāktas. They are assured that the goddess receives their prayers through the recitation of the poem. If they submit to the goddess with true love and complete devotion, she will fulfill their desires and bring them salvation.

The message is clear: love, respect, and worship the Devī with all your energies and with all your heart, and you will achieve your desires.

Notes to Chapter I

1. In October, 1977, the Himachal Pradesh State Museum, Simla, India purchased a manuscript of the Devīmāhātmya, which was brought to the attention of the museum by Kailash Katoch, a post-graduate student at Himachal Pradesh University. He had found the manuscript in the possession of a brahmin family in Bijapur, eastern Kangra state, a few miles from his own home in Baijnath. To this date no part of this important manuscript has yet been published, not even a preliminary report.

2. F.E. Pargiter, trans., The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (1904; reprint ed.,Delhi, India: Indological Book House,1969), pp.viii-xiii; R.C. Hazra, Studies in the Upapurāṇas, vol.2, (Calcutta: Oriental Press Private Limited, 1958), pp.19-23; S. Bhattacharji, The Indian Theogony,(Cambridge: University Press, 1970), pp.159,165,167. All textual references used in this dissertation refer to Pargiter's translation and will appear in parentheses after each citation.

3. There are so many references to blood sacrifices that I have chosen to cite them separately. The following passages contain related material: 2:62-64; 3:33-35; 6:14; 7:8-14; 8:37-56; 8:59-61; 9:35-39.

4. Pargiter, pp. x,xi; Bhattacharji, pp.167,172,173.

5. Pargiter, p. xiii.

6. Pargiter, p. xiii.

7. M.R. Majmudar, "Earliest Devīmāhātmya miniatures with special reference to Shākti worship in Gujarat," Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art 6 (1938): 118-137.

8. Pargiter, p. xiii.

9. Bhattacharji, p. 166.

10. Bhattacharji, p.165.

II. DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL LEAVES OF THE SIMLA DEVĪMĀHĀTMYA MANUSCRIPT

Folio 1A: Text 1:1-18

(see illustrations)

Left: An image of the Devī, supported by a male figure, is placed against a blue background. The Devī is ten-armed and has four heads. Each head wears a three-lobed, winged crown. She carries the following attributes in her hands (beginning with her upper left and continuing clockwise): fish, bell, snake, a form of bhūmisparśamudrā, staff crowned by a human head, skull cup, trident, varada mudrā, elephant goad, and sword. On either side of the main image a male and female figure express adoration with their hands in añjali mudrā. The adoring female wears a red skirt with a red floral design. Except for the yellow scarf draped around her shoulders, her upper torso is bare. The male figure supporting the Devī is four-armed, painted white, wearing an orange dhotī. A green and red pattern of alternating horizontal bars decorates

the cornice of the pavilion. This decoration appears over a wide band of red. Two tassel pom-poms hang from the arch created by the curtains.

This type of iconographic representation of the Devī is frequently encountered in bronze sculptures from the Pahari region.[1] The form is known as Mahābhairavī, the śākti or energy of the ferocious aspect of Śiva. The skull cup which the goddess holds beneath her breasts is the distinctive emblem which identifies her.[2] She is supported by her husband, Śiva, who is crowned, four-armed, and painted white. It is common for bronze images from the hills and Kashmir to include the donor figure, or figures, at the base of the shrine.[3] Since this painting appears to be a translation of a bronze object,[4] perhaps we can correctly assume that the male and female figures which appear on this first illustration are representations of persons who may have commissioned the manuscript, although there is no reference to them in the colophon on the last page.

Right: A four-armed image of the Devī, painted yellow, sits in a lotus position holding a child on her lap with her left hands. She grasps a mango branch with her upper right hand while the lower right reaches out to hold the arm of a small standing female figure in front of her. The Devī sits on a blue oval mat with yellow lines,

which is supported on the back of a white feline creature who faces to the right. The Devī wears an orange skirt while the skirt of the small female is white. Both wear transparent cholīs, upper garments.

Because of the presence of the children this illustration can be interpreted as a form of the mother-goddess.[5]

Borders:

top-- Six white birds fly against a black ground. Above the birds a band of white clouds and blue sky complete the horizontal register.

bottom--Alternating forms of open and closed lotus flowers in yellow and white appear against a green ground. Some of the white in the flowers has been lost, revealing the blue underpaint. In the bottom margin are abstract slashes and round forms of green and red, arranged in a random pattern.

Folio 1B: Text 1:19-37

Left: A woman, painted yellow and dressed in a yellow cholī and a red skirt, sits on top of a green round mat with yellow lines and red dots. Her hands are raised in a circle above her head and she looks left. At her side is a perfume ewer.

The scene takes place within a domed pavilion flanked by elements of a crenelated wall and a red, bar patterned cornice. The background is black. Pom-pom tassels hang from the center of the cornice and from the two sides where the arches join the pilasters. Pom-poms have also been used as ties for the lady's belt.

Right: A single bed (charpaī), against a green background, occupies the foreground of a pavilion topped by a small turret (chhatrī). The covering for the charpaī is painted yellow with red lines and dots. The white pillow on top of the charpaī has pom-pom tassels at the two ends for ties. Beneath the charpaī are brass utensils: a flat dish with a high foot and a round perfume ewer. To the left is a white water vessel. Red curtains with a white border form an arch from which hang a pair of pom-poms.

Neither of these illustrations relate to the textual passage.

Borders:

top-- A row of seven white geese, each within a quatrefoil medallion. Between each medallion is a blue flower. The flowers are surrounded by gold leaf designs and the background is red.

Bottom--A meandering palmette vine in yellow against a red background. The curved forms created by the vine contain blue, mauve, and white splayed flowers.

Folio 2A: Text 1:38-56

Left: A ten-armed, blue-black goddess stands in a militant posture with one foot astride a winged feline beast and her other foot resting on the severed head of the buffalo demon, Mahisha. She wears a diaphanous cholī, yellow dhotī, and a garland of yellow. Attached to her winged, triple-lobed crown is Śiva's crescent moon. She carries the following in her hands, (beginning with her upper left and continuing clockwise): shield, bow, snake wrapped around Mahisha's neck, staff, trident, arrows, wheel, sword. Her remaining hand plucks an arrow from the quiver on her back. The action takes place on a mountain top indicated by mauve, white, green and blue flame-like forms. At the top of the composition are four celestial figures. The two males blow horns; the two females carry garlands. The entire composition is set against a red background.

This is an illustration of Durgā killing Mahishasura

who is emerging from the buffalo form.

Right: A lady flees a rain storm, indicated by dashes of white against a green background. A blue peacock is perched on a red tree. The lady wears a red and yellow checked skirt inset in the center with a white panel. Open lotus flowers form a pattern beneath the scene.

This illustration does not relate to the text.

Borders:

top-- The background is divided by a curved vertical arc; the left side black and the right red. Two deer, one male and one female, and six stylized plants, two of which are banana, are arranged in a horizontal row.

bottom--This area is mostly effaced, but a duck and parts of three flower clusters against a blue background can still be seen.

Folio 2B: Text 1:57-72

Left: A female wearing transparent garments, stands in a tank or pool of water performing her ablutions. The water is depicted as a "basket weave" pattern. A lotus plant with two closed buds and one open flower grows at the base of the tank. The bather is silhouetted against a

red background. A bright yellow sun glows in the sky while three parrots fly in the black horizon.

This subject does not relate to the text.

Right: A lady dressed in a mauve and purple checked skirt, walks to the left between two trees. She carries a large bowl as if to fetch water from the tank on the left side of this page. On the left a banana tree; on the right a stylized tree with an oval crown, decorated with dark brown stars. The background is painted light blue and the horizon is curved, perhaps indicating a hill.

This subject does not relate to the text.

Borders:

top-- A yellow palmette vine meanders across a green background. In the rounded forms made by the vine are open flowers with red centers.

bottom--The composition is divided into three panels. The blue center section contains the figure of a gazelle, while the flanking red sections contain stylized plants and banana trees.

Folio 3A: Text 1:74-77 and 2:1-11

Left: Two men sit against a green background within a domed pavilion. The figure wearing a flat white

turban is yellow. The other has a topknot and is painted orange. The turbaned man has his hands in añjali mudrā. He wears a transparent shirt tied to the right, and his solid red sash has a yellow floral design at the end. The other man holds a manuscript and appears to be speaking with his hand in the vitarkamudrā, the gesture of discussion.

Right: An ascetic, with long beard and covered with ash, sits before a liṅga shrine with his hand in a bag counting his beads. The liṅga is supported by a brass base in the form of a lion. Close by are a brass alms bowl and a water pot, essential elements of an ascetic. The shrine has been adorned with flowers as part of the ritual worship. The scene takes place against a red background within a pitched roof pavilion.

This folio may illustrate the king, Suratha, holding the manuscript seated next to the turbaned vaishya, Samādhi. In the right panel, the ascetic before the shrine is perhaps Medhas, in the midst of prayers.[6]

Borders:

top-- Five heart shaped lozenges, three red and two yellow, appear in a row against a blue ground. Ribbons hang from the lozenges and two ducks

can faintly be seen.

bottom--A yellow vine meanders across a black background. Seven open daisy-type flowers are interspersed along the vine. The flowers have white petals and a red center.

Folio 3B: Text 2:12-26

Left: Indra, wearing a blue dhotī, his body covered with many eyes, is accompanied by a warrior, who carries a shield and raised sword and who wears green shorts. They are shown in a pavilion with a chhatrī flanked by part of the crenelated wall.

Right: A lady sits on a yellow swing, hanging from a branch of a tree. Beneath the lady, who wears large round earrings, a yellow cholī, and an orange skirt, are arranged a row of stylized rocks in red, white and green.

In the left panel two of the gods pay homage to the lady on the swing: Indra, who can be identified by his many eyes, and perhaps Kāla (destiny) who is identified by his sword and shield which he is about to give to the goddess (2:24). Because of their attitudes of supplication we can safely assume that the lady is the Devī, though she is neither multi-armed nor crowned.[7]

Borders:

top-- A row of open and closed lotus flowers, complete with yellow leaves, appears against a green background. Hummingbirds feed from each flower.

bottom--Six geese, in a variety of positions, are contained within quatrefoil medallions. Flower forms in the shape of thunderbolts (vajra) or an hourglass, alternate with the medallions. The flowers and geese are painted white against a green background.

Folio 4A: Text 2:27-40

Left: Against a red background, a lady wearing a transparent cholī and a blue skirt, walks to the right. She is set within a chhatrī topped pavilion.

Right: Two men sit on a white seat facing to the left. One carries a sword and gestures with his right hand. He wears a red four-pointed, chākdār jama tied to the right and his turban is of the kulāhdar type, with the cloth wrapped around a kula or cap. His long sash, patkā, is painted solid white except for stripes of red at the border. The man on the right is bare to the waist but wears a white dhotī, and a flat white turban. He sits with his legs crossed at the ankles and

a yogapaṭṭa, an attribute of an ascetic, encircles his shoulder and one leg.

Neither of these illustrations relate to the text.

Borders:

top-- A pair of geese is enclosed within each medallion while each half circle holds a single goose. The white geese stand out against a mauve ground, and the medallions are outlined in yellow.

bottom--A split palmette vine in yellow meanders across a green ground. Six white blossoms zig-zag along the vine. This meandering vine appears on many of the borders, both top and bottom, in a variety of colors placed against a diversity of backgrounds.

Folio 4B: Text 2:41-58

Left: A female, heavily ornamented with necklace, round earrings, and other jewelry, sits on a covered stool, holding a lotus bud. She wears a stiff, transparent scarf (odhani) decorated with a cross check design along the border, and a blue skirt. The mauve cover of her stool is ornamented with vine designs in dark purple and a row of yellow tassels hang from the bottom. She is seated against a red background within a chhatrī-topped pavilion. Chevron stripes run

along the cornice.

Right: The bottom area of this composition contains a water tank with lotus flowers, similar to the tank of folio 2B left. The bricks of the tank are arranged in steps. Open and closed lotus flowers are arranged along the base. The upper portion has been damaged but two ducks can be seen above the tank. The remains of a tall stylized branch cut across the composition diagonally. A blue bird flies against a black background. Two yellow cranes are perched on the horizon below a blue sky.

Neither of these illustrations refer to the text.

Borders:

top-- A yellow split palmette vine occupies this border.

bottom--Similar to the top border. In the bottom margin abstract slashes and round forms in green and red are arranged in a random pattern similar to folio 1A. Lotus buds also appear in this bottom margin.

Folio 5A: Text 2:59-68 and 3:1-8

Left: Within a pitch-roofed pavilion, two men sit against a green background. One man, sits

crossed legged, in yogic posture, wears only a white dhotī, and holds a flask. His hair is fashioned in a top-knot, and his neck is adorned with beads. The other man wears a sheer garment on his upper torso, which is tied to the right, and a white dhotī below. His costume is completed by a long white sash decorated with horizontal red stripes at the ends. A flat red turban covers his head. He feeds the ascetic from a white cup. On the sides of the pavilion, hooks hold a writing slate and pen box on the left side and a red and white jug on the right side.

Right: A black horse, with a white mane and head, stands against a red hill. The horse is tied to a stylized tree, crowned in an oval shape. A green saddle blanket is placed on the horse's back.

These illustrations probably come from an earlier part of the manuscript. This is perhaps the king, Suratha making an offering to the ṛiṣi Medhas. A second interpretation might be that this is the meeting of the king and Samādhi, the vaishya.

Borders:

top-- A split palmette and trefoil flowers decorate the border.

bottom--Five ducks in various positions stand against a green background. A white water tank, with the water shown as a "basket weave" pattern, occupies the central area.

Folio 5B: Text 3:9-26

Left: A male figure, dressed in a yellow dhotī decorated with broad stripes of blue and red, strides to the left. The figure holds a shield and brandishes a sword in his right hand above his head. Part of his hair hangs loose while the other part is formed into a long pigtail, with a white cloth binding the ends. The figure wears armlets, a necklace, as well as a charm to ward off evil.

Right: A ten-armed goddess, wearing a blue skirt, rides a tiger and brandishes her weapons. She holds the following in her hands,(beginning in the upper left and continuing clockwise): an arrow, plucked from a quiver, flower, staff, severed head, trident, sword, bell, bow, discus or shield. Her militant posture is aimed at the human figure of Mahisha, the buffalo demon, whom she has slain. The tiger tramples on the dead buffalo below. The action takes place against a red background within a pavilion topped by a

dome, surmounted by an umbrella.

In the left Mahisha's general of the army, Chikshura, in a rage, violently attacks the Devī. The text describes how with "his bow shattered, his chariot useless, his horses killed, his charioteer slain, the asura (Chikshura) armed with sword and shield rushed at the goddess." (3:5) The right illustration shows the Devī holding the demon's human head in her hand, after just decapitating his buffalo form with her sword. With her trident she keeps the asura's buffalo form subdued.

Borders:

top-- Fluted triangle forms break the green background. In the top sections formed by the triangles, white and yellow cranes are depicted, one in each section. The bottom areas of the triangles are ornamented with floral motifs of red and yellow.

bottom--Floral trefoil shapes placed along the green background alternate with open lotus flowers. Red palmettes are splayed out below.

Folio 6A: Text 3:27-41 and 4:1

Left: A four-armed image of the blue-skinned goddess sits on the upper edge of a lotus flower. She wears jewelry and a triple-lobed, winged crown. Her two upper hands hold a mace and a lotus bud, while the lower ones hold the bodies of two

small male figures. Cascading water in a "basket weave" pattern flanks either side of the red panel behind the Devī. In the vertical band of water to the left a headless male figure grasps a sword and shield while his head floats below. At the bottom of the panel a female dressed in a green skirt walks to the left, dragging a small figure by the hair. In the vertical panel to the right, a fish and a turtle swim in the water. Below, another female in a blue skirt holds a sword over her head and pulls a small figure by the hair.

The illustration concerns the destruction of the asuras Madhu and Kaiṭabha which is described in 1:70-77. In the text the Devī uses her powers to awaken Viṣṇu from his cosmic sleep. Viṣṇu then engages in battle with the asuras and ultimately destroys them. In this illustration the artist has departed from the text in one important aspect. He has eliminated Viṣṇu as the victor and replaced him with his female principle, his śākti, Vaiṣṇavi.[8] That the female counterpart has been chosen to destory the asuras is not so surprising considering that the manuscript itself is a glorification of the Devī in all her various aspects, including that of Vaiṣṇavi. The text mentions the physical setting of the ocean and the artist has carefully included it as a frame for the backdrop,

even to the point of adding the charmingly naive depiction of the turtle and fish.

Right: A large banana tree against a black background occupies the center of the composition. Entwined around the tree is a green creeper. A peacock, holding a flower in his mouth, struts to the right.

This panel does not relate to the text.

Borders:

top-- Six scalloped bands of yellow are placed vertically against a green ground. In each of the resulting sections blooms a fully opened white flower with a red center. A thin yellow vine motif meanders from flower to flower.

bottom--A red split palmette vine and alternating red and white open flowers decorate a mauve background.

Folio 6B: Text 4:2-13

Left: Within a chhatrī-topped pavilion a lady languishes on a rust colored charpaī. She wears a mauve skirt, a transparent odhani and elaborate jewelry. Beneath the charpaī are a flat brass dish with a high foot, and a round perfume ewer. A horizontal row of chevron stripes forms

the base of the pavilion.

This illustration is close to the iconographic portrayal of the Yoganidrā aspect of the Devī. According to G. Rao she should be "lying down on a bed with the eyes closed. It (the representation) must be shaped very beautifully. The goddess keeps a drinking vessel near her, and has only two hands."[9] The state of Yoganidrā is defined as a state of half contemplation and half sleep or a state between sleep and wakefulness. It is especially applicable to Viṣṇu when he enters into this state at the end of an era or Yuga.

Right: A lady dressed in a diaphanous cholī and stiff, transparent odhani walks to the right. Her skirt is blue, and heavy jewelry embellishes her body. Under a banana tree, partially cropped by the edge of the picture, a male gazelle gazes up at the lady.

This illustration does not relate to the text.

Borders:

top-- Four white birds fly across the lower black area, which is separated from the mauve upper portion by a white band of clouds.

bottom--A yellow palmette vine undulates across a green background. White geese, in various positions, occupy the lobes formed by the vine.

Folio 7A: Text 4:14-25

Left: A two-armed image of the goddess, dressed in a transparent *cholī* and a red skirt decorated with yellow lines and yellow dots, sits erect on an open lotus flower. She wears a white scarf draped around her shoulders, a triple-lobed, winged crown, elaborate jewelry, and a belt tied with pom-pom tassels.

Right: A man, dressed in a yellow *dhotī* and white scarf falling over his shoulders, walks left, his hands in *añjali mudrā*, expressing adoration. He is outlined against a red background underneath a *chhatrī*-crowned pavilion.

The text accompanying this leaf deals with numerous praises to the goddess, and the two illustrated panels are a straightforward interpretation of the admiration felt by the gods toward the Devī.

Borders:

top-- White and mauve open lotus blossoms alternate in a band across a green background. Yellow palmette sprigs emerge from the tops and bottoms of the flowers touching the sprigs of the adjacent flower, to form a series of arches.

bottom--A white split palmette vine with split trefoil flowers decorates a black ground.

Folio 7B: Text 4:26-36 and 5:1-3

Left: Against a red background a large tree with green leaves is flanked by two smaller potted flowering plants. A diagonal band of clouds breaks the sky. In the black area of the horizon squats a white bird.

Right: Two men with bare torsos sit facing each other against a green background. The man on the left wears a yellow dhotī and holds his hands in the gesture of exposition, while the other man, wearing a white dhotī, listens to him. Both of the men wear arm jewelry, and beads around their necks. On their heads are pointed caps, one red, the other blue. Above is a free swinging curtain in the middle of which hangs a furry pendant flanked by a pair of pom-pom tassels. The pavilion is surmounted by one central dome and parts of the crenelated wall.

This folio may illustrate the risi Medhas and the king Suratha in discussion at the forest hermitage of the sage.

Borders:

top-- A series of vines drawn in black stand out against a white ground. Several intersections of the vines are dominated by a trefoil motif which is repeated.

bottom--This lower border extends beyond the central section into both the left and right portion of the page. In it is depicted a lotus pond, complete with open flowers, buds, and leaves, which emerge from the water.

Folio 8A: Text 5:4-19

Left: A maiden dressed in a mauve skirt, diaphanous cholī and stiff transparent odhani sits facing left against a green background. She wears heavy jewelry and pom-pom tassels around her neck, elbows, and waist. A white bird is perched on a leaf of a large, yellow-leafed banana tree occupying the left half of the composition.

Right: The picture consists of an unoccupied pavilion with a red background and a dark green oval mat at the base. A hook fastened to the right pilaster holds a dark blue scarf with a white border, as well as two pom-pom tassels. The capitals of the pilasters are trumpet-shaped.

These illustrations have no relationship to the text.

Borders:

top-- A dark purple split palmette vine meanders across a mauve gound. Thin purple vines fill the remainder of the space.

bottom--A yellow split palmette vine meanders across a blue ground. Within the lobes formed by the vine are open flowers which were once white but, due to paint loss, now reveal the blue underpaint.

Folio 8B: Text 5:20-36

Left: A woman, dressed in a transparent *cholī* and stiff, sheer *odhani*, and wearing elaborate jewelry, sits on a check patterned tile floor. One hand is in the position of exposition (*vitarkamudrā*) and the other holds a rosary. The background is red, and the sky is a large expanse of blue with three white birds flying against it.

Right: Two women in discussion face each other against a green background. The one on the left, who listens, wears a white *cholī* and a red skirt, elaborate jewelry, and round earrings. The other wears a transparent *cholī* and blue skirt with a floral pattern. She also has jewelry, but her earrings are plugs. It is raining heavily.

These illustrations do not relate to the text.

Borders:

top-- A dark brown palmette vine curves across a red ground. Blue and white triangular floral buds are placed in alternating sequence in the round areas formed by the vine.

bottom--Six white flowers with red centers embroider a blue ground.

Folio 9A: Text 5:37-52

Left: A lady, dressed in a diaphanous cholī and odhani, wears a skirt of white with red squares containing alternating red and blue flowers. She sits on a covered stool inhaling the fragrance of an open lotus flower. She wears large round earrings, necklace, amulets, and bracelets. Pom-pom tassels adorn her wrists and elbows. A man, wearing a kulāhdar turban, kneels before her and massages her foot. He wears a simple dhotī and transparent shirt which is tied to the left. His long sash is solid white except for the red stripes near the ends. It is tied with a loop at the waist. The stool is covered in the same manner as that of folio 4B, except that the fabric here is blue and the tassels are also blue with pom-poms at their ends. A banana tree with five leaves, one of which is drooping,

occupies the right side of the composition.

This panel illustrates the attempt by Sugrīva, the messenger of the asura Śumbha, to pursuade the Devī to accompany him back to Śumbha's paradise and become his bride.

> O goddess! We look upon you as the jewel of womankind in all the worlds, so you now come to us, since we are the enjoyers of the best objects. O lady, of coquettish glances either choose me [Śumbha] or my younger brother Niśumbha of great provest, for you are verily a jewel. By marrying me wealth great and beyond measure will be yours. Think over this in your mind and become my wife. (5:63-65)

The messenger assumes a subservient position, similar to that of a lover pleading with his beloved. See fig. 30 for a fifteenth century Gujarat version of the same theme.

Right: Two gesturing females stand against a green background. The one on the left wears a mauve skirt, transparent cholī, and odhani. Her torso faces right while her head turns to the left. She wears plug earrings and pom-poms at her elbows and wrists. The other lady, facing left, wears a red skirt with yellow horizontal stripes and a transparent cholī and stiff odhani.

The only possible relationship between this illustration and the text is that these ladies were perhaps meant to be attendant figures for the Devī, or it represents the Devī herself shying away from Sugrīva.

Borders:

top-- This border extends beyond the central portion into both the left and right panels of the page. A white band of clouds separates the black horizon from the blue sky. Various pairs of birds such as cranes and parrots fly in the black horizon.

bottom--The area is divided in two by a vertical line: the left side blue with sprigs of yellow leaves and the right side red with plants having both yellow and green leaves.

Folio 9B: Text 5:53-71

Left: A lady wearing a red and yellow checked skirt sits on a black oval mat against a blue background, playing a vina. To her left grows a stylized tree with green foliage shaped in an oval crown.

Right: A large green banana tree occupies the central portion of this panel. On either side of the tree are a buck and a doe. The background is red and two white birds are perched in the curved horizon.

Neither of these illustrations relate to the text.

Borders:

top-- A yellow split palmette vine winds its way across a red background. Placed in the round forms created by the vine are white flowers, with serrated edges, and red centers.

bottom--A yellow vine stands out against a green background. White triangular flowers occupy the lobed areas formed by the vine.

Folio 10A: Text 5:72-78 and 6:1-8

Left: Within a chhatrī-topped pavilion a man, dressed in a white dhotī stands with knees bent against a green background, with his hands in adoration, añjali mudrā, and gazes at the Devī across the page. He wears the sacred thread and has pom-pom tassels at his elbows.

Right: A two-armed image of the goddess, wearing a triple-lobed, winged crown, carries a sword and a shield and rides a stylized tiger. The blue background is framed by a domed pavilion.

These panels illustrate the worship of the Devī as Siṃhavāhinī.[10] The scene does not relate to any specific incident in the text but fits into the general concept of adulation toward the Devī in her various forms.

Borders:

top-- Mauve lotus flowers and buds form a horizontal row against a red background. Four hummingbirds feed from the buds.

bottom--A dark purple split palmette vine breaks a mauve ground. White flowers with yellow tops and centers and blue veined leaves fill the semi-circular areas created by the vine. A yellow vine interweaves with the palmette connecting the flowers.

Folio 10B: Text 6:9-20 and 7:1-4

Left: A four-armed figure of the goddess, painted red, is seated in a hieratic frontal position on a lotus supported by a metal foliated base. She wears a winged crown and carries a trident and a mirror or wheel in her left hands and a water vase and a skull cup in her right hands. On either side, above her, elephants hold an inverted water pot with their trunks. The elephants are supported by one raised hand of each of the male attendants flanking the goddess. The attendants, crowned and jeweled, hold fly whisks in homage to the Devī. Beneath the attendants are rearing stylized tigers. This entire shrine sits on a double lotus base. The back-

ground is green and there is the appearance of a crenelated wall, but no crowning element at the top of the pavilion.

This is a scene of the lustration of the Devī,[11] a common iconographic representation in sculpture, both bronze and stone. During this ritual the image is anointed with several liquids as part of the worship ceremony, which is symbolic of purification, homage, and gratitude.

Right: A young lady, with a long braid, strides toward a yogi seated under a pitched-roof pavilion. She wears a mauve skirt and transparent cholī, and offers water in a vase to the ascetic who is seated to the right. He wears a red dhotī and his hair is long and matted. A wide mouthed vase hangs from a hook on the far right pilaster.

This scene does not relate to the text.

Borders:

top-- This space is divided into three horizontal sections. The top is blue indicating the sky, the middle is white, symbolizing clouds, the red lower area contains open white flowers placed along a yellow vine.

bottom--This border breaks through to the right side and contains lotus flowers growing up from a green ground against a panel of white.

Folio 11A: Text 7:5-22

Left: A ferocious figure of the goddess stands within a domed pavilion against a green background. The goddess is blue and has four arms, holding a sword and a severed head in her left hands. Her right hands are in abhaya mudrā and varada mudrā. She wears a garland of skulls around her neck and a skirt of severed hands. Her hair is matted, falling down the side of her face, and her prominent fangs are clearly visible. On her forehead is a Vaiṣṇava tilak mark, and two little babies, worn as earrings, dangle from her ears. This ferocious figure stands on a prostrate white male.

This folio illustrates the figure of Kālī.[12]

> Thereupon the Goddess was thrown into great rage against those foes [the asuras Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa] and in anger her countenance became as dark as ink. From her broad forehead of curved eye-brows suddenly sprang forth Kālī of terrible countenance, armed with a sword and a noose. (7:4-5)

Kālī was created to kill the two asuras, Chaṇḍa and Muṇḍa who had been sent by the great asura Śumbha to defeat the Devī in battle and bring her to him as his wife. The description of Kālī in the text varies from the representation in the left panel. The text states that she should carry a noose, wear a tiger's skin and be emaciated. The depiction of Kālī departs from this description but fits exactly

the description of the Kālī figure which developed in eastern India, particularly in Bengal.[13] Kālī as such is a generic term which applies to many ferocious goddesses. Kālī can mean either the "dark one" or "one who tramples Kāla (Śiva or time)" as illustrated here. The textual description for this image of Kālī is found in a text later than the Devīmāhātmya, the Kālī Tantra,[14] a tantric manual. There, different types of Kālīs are described, and this image matches the picture of Śyamā, Dakṣhiṇa Kālī. She is described as having for her ear ornaments two dead babies, and her body is not emaciated. Her breasts are round, high and full of nectar. She is nude except for a belt of severed hands. This type of Kālī figure is restricted to Bengal and there is no evidence that it was worshipped there prior to the sixteenth century.[15]

Right: The goddess, painted yellow, crowned and carrying a sword and a skull cup, now sits on a prostrate male. The male is supported by a large open lotus flower. The Devī wears a yellow cholī and a red skirt. A yellow scarf with a border design in a "basket weave" pattern hangs stiffly from her shoulder. She is enthroned within a pavilion with a crenelated wall.

This represents a tantric aspect of the Devī.

Borders:

top-- A black band is separated from a red band by a yellow strip. White and yellow birds alternate in the upper register. In the lower, large white trefoil shaped flowers with blue centers are attached to a horizontal vine.

bottom--A blue split palmette vine zig zags across a white ground. Large red flowers are placed in the curved areas formed by the vine. Abstract slashes and round forms in green and red in an alternating pattern decorate the bottom margin. See folios 1A and 4B for a similar treatment.

Folio 11B: Text 7:23-25 and 8:1-13

Left: A four-armed figure of the goddess, holding a bow and arrow and displaying varada and abhaya mudrās, sits on a covered stool against a red background. The stool covering is mauve with yellow tassels. It is the same type of stool as seen in folios 4B and 9A. The goddess wears a blue skirt, is crowned, and heavily jeweled.

Right: Two men, each holding a lotus bud clasped in his hands, which are in añjali mudrā, stand facing toward the goddess in the opposite panel. One wears a white dhotī, while the other's is orange. A curtain falls in a semi-circular swagger from

the chhatrī-topped pavilion.

In this illustration two devotees worship the goddess in the form of Chaṇḍika. The Devī is recognized as Chaṇḍika by the bow and arrow which she carries. (8:7)

Borders:

top-- Five full medallions and one half medallion appear against a red background. Each contains a white goose in the mauve center.

bottom--Four quatrefoil medallions, each containing a yellow and red bird, are painted against a blue background.

Folio 12A: Text 8:14-29

Left: Within a chhatrī-topped pavilion a man, holding a lotus bud in his hands, clasped in añjali mudrā, stands against a green background facing right. He wears a white dhotī and a white scarf, which has a blue and red "basket weave" pattern decoration on the borders. The chhatrī is flanked by elements of the crenelated wall.

Right: The goddess, four-armed and holding a snake, a bow, an elephant goad, and an arrow, sits in lalitāsana, position of ease, on an open lotus. Crowned and bejewled, she wears a red skirt and a red scarf with a border decoration. The back-

ground is blue and the pavilion is topped with a chhatrī flanked by two elements of the crenelated wall.

This folio, like the previous one, is another representation of adulation toward the goddess.

Borders:

top-- Mauve lotus buds and flowers alternate in a row against a red background. Four hummingbirds feed from the lotuses.

bottom--Nine mauve lotus flower petals, each with a tiny flower at its tip, curve downward. The flowers are alternately blue and white.

Folio 12B: Text 8:31-46

Left: One male and one female figure sit within a chhatrī-topped pavilion against a red background. The male wears a winged and triple-lobed crown, is colored blue, and has a yellow dhotī and yellow scarf. He is seated facing right and has one hand in the gesture of discussion. His left hand holds the wrist of the lady who is facing him. She wears a white gauze cholī and a white skirt with a floral pattern arranged in squares. In the lower portion of this panel are faint representations of the curved forms seen in the lower margins of folios 1A,4B, and 11A.

This illustration does not relate to the text.

Borders:

top-- A white ground is broken by a black vine.

bottom--A yellow split palmette vine meanders across a green ground.

Folio 13A: Text 8:47-69 and 9:1-2

Left: A man is seen climbing a tree, leaving behind his bow and arrow and sandals. A head, perhaps of the same man, peers through the foliage above. Both heads wear flat white turbans and white dhotīs. Perhaps the man is running away from a snake that seems to come up the steps in the lower panel.

Right: Against a brilliant red background a trunk-like form with shoots and branches has been depicted. The trunk begins at the right and moves across the composition to the left and then upward. Black leaves and comb-like motifs are placed at different points against the red. The yellow trunk is striated with irregular veins of red and black. A refulgent yellow sun fills the blue sky. At the bottom of the composition is a green border with red flowers on a yellow vine.

Neither of these panels relates to the text.

Borders:

top-- White, brown, and beige birds, and leaping male gazelles move horizontally in a row toward the left against a black background.

bottom--A large cobra snake winds its way to the left against a blue background. Two birds to the right and a water tank and sprig of leaves to the left complete this border.

Folio 13B: Text 9:3-21

Left: A man wearing a yellow dhotī and a white scarf, strides to the right against a blue background. His hands are clasped in front of him in supplication, añjali mudrā. The pavilion is topped by a dome, which has parts of the crenelated wall flanking it.

Right: A four-armed figure of the Devī, astride her feline, faces left against a green background. She holds a sword, trident, and shield. With the trident she slays a dark male figure to her left, turning him upside down. He is dressed only in a white dhotī and white sash. The pavilion is chhatrī-topped.

In the left panel a man is worshipping the Devī, in her form of Chaṇḍika, who is felling the asura Śumbha in the right panel. The text describes the scene precisely:

> Seeing him, the lord of all the Daitya [asura] folk, approaching, the goddess then pierced him in the breast with a dart [trident] and felled him down on the earth. Shattered by the point of the goddess' dart he fell lifeless on the ground, shaking the whole earth and its seas, islands and mountains. (10.22-23)

Borders:

top-- Nine geese and two goslings march to the left across a red background.

bottom--Open lotus flowers in mauve are alternated with mauve closed lotus buds against a red background. Seven hummingbirds feed.

Folio 14A: Text 9:22-38

Left: A four-armed figure of the Devī, holding a discus, trident, shield, and sword, stands militantly against a red background. She wears a transparent cholī and blue skirt, is jeweled and crowned. She faces left slaying a male figure with her sword and trident. The male has been thrown to the ground with his legs extended in the air. The Devī tramples on his head. The pavilion is surmounted by a large dome decorated with floral designs and flanked by parts of the crenelated wall.

This illustration represents the felling of Niśumbha, after a long and arduous battle.

> Then Niśumbha seizing his club rushed impetuously at Chaṇḍika to slay her outright with the asura host surrounding him. As he was just falling upon her, Chaṇḍika swiftly clove his club with her sharp-edged sword. Chaṇḍika with a trident hurled swiftly, pierced Niśumbha, the afflicter of the Immortals, in the heart, as he approached with trident in hand. (9:30-32)

The artist has taken some poetic license in compressing the action, nevertheless all the elements are present: Niśumbha with his club, the Devī's sword and her ultimate victory.

Right: In a chhatrī-topped pavilion an isolated charpaī is set in the foreground of the composition against a green background. Beneath the charpaī is a brass dish, to the left of which is a brass water ewer. The foot of the charpaī curves to the floor at a forty-five degree angle. Pom-pom tassels and a transparent odhani are suspended from a hook on the right pilaster.

This illustration does not relate to the text.

Borders:

top-- Four daisies are horizontally spaced against a white background. Daisies also appear in the curtained triangles of the right panel.

bottom--Against a blue ground, white trefoil flowers with yellow leaves alternate with yellow, red, and white birds standing in various positions.

Folio 14B: Text 9:39 and 10:1-12

Left: An ash-colored ascetic sits on a leopard skin against a blue background. His hair is tied on top of his head in a bun with a pink cloth and he wears an orange dhotī. His beard is long and pointed. His left arm is supported by an arm rest, the fingers occupied with the beads worn around his neck. A bulbous pink water ewer is placed before him. Two yellow birds are perched on the leaves of a banana tree against a black horizon. Once again, at the base of the composition are the same red and green slash and curved shapes which have been noticed on the bottom margins of folios 1A,4B,11A and 12B.

Right: A white brick temple, with a green rectangle indicating the garbha griha, womb chamber, is at the right against a red background. The temple has a ribbed dome and a cornice decorated with lotus petals. The pilaster on the left has chevron stripes. A small tree with green leaves stands to the left.

In the text, the risi Medhas begins the story of the destruction of the asura Śumbha by the Devī and her army. The illustrations on this page represent an ascetic's devotion to the goddess and his subsequent act of worship in

front of a temple consecrated to her. The ascetic may represent the risi Medhas.

Borders:

top-- Seven diamond shaped, fluted, white floral forms line a red background. Alternating with them are mauve trefoil flowers with yellow split leaves emerging from the base of each.

bottom--A yellow vine wends its way across a green ground. White trefoil flowers with red bases are placed in the half circles created by the vine.

Folio 15A; Text 10:13-28 and 11:1

Left: A mythical feline animal with yellow wings and white body, covered with black nervous squiggles, pounces on a male figure dressed in a white dhotī and brandishing a sword and shield. Both figures are balanced on a row of flame shaped rocks, colored red, white, and green. A trumpet-shaped flowering stalk rises on the left while a branch with yellow and green leaves extends from the margin on the right.

Right: A figure of the goddess is seated on an open lotus to the right. She is crowned, heavily jeweled, wears a transparent cholī and odhani and a blue skirt. She looks down from the top

of the flame-shaped rocks like those in the left hand panel. The Devī watches while a male figure, in a white dhotī, perishes upside down amidst flames. The background is red and the sky is divided diagonally by a band of clouds and is painted blue and black.

Both panels illustrate destruction scenes. In the left the mighty prowess of the goddess' lion mount is shown:

> he slaughtered some asuras with a blow from his fore-paw, and others with his mouth, and others, very great asuras, by striking them with his hind foot. (6:12)

The right panel illustrates the demise of the asura general, Dhūmralocana:

> The asura Dhūmralocana rushed toward her [the Devī]. Then Ambikā with a mere roar reduced him to ashes. (6:9-10)

See fig. 31 for the same scene in a fifteenth century Gujarat version.

Borders:

top-- This border is divided by two vertical lines into three segments. The green center segment contains a yellow banana tree. The flanking areas are both red, with burgeoning stylized sprigs of yellow and green.

bottom--A thin white vine and open flowers are outlined against a green background.

Folio 15B: Text 11:2-18

Left: A charpaī occupies a large part of the foreground against a green backdrop in a chhatrī-topped pavilion. Beneath the charpaī are a round perfume ewer and a flat brass dish. The capitals of the pilasters are trumpet shaped like those in folio 8A right. There is a cushion beneath the capital.

Right: A pensive maiden sits on top of a blue oval mat against a green background. Wearing a diaphanous cholī and a white skirt with a border design of red and blue "basket weave" design, she gazes to the right. Beneath her is a white panel with one closed and one open mauve lotus flower.

Neither of these illustrations refer to the text. There is however a relationship with other illustrations in the manuscript: the left panel is similar in composition to the right panel of folio 14A and the right panel resembles that of 8A left.

Borders:

top-- The red ground is broken by a yellow vine. Placed in the round areas of the vine are six white geese, all facing to the right, though their torsos are facing left.

bottom--Here the vine is dark purple and the ground

mauve. Open flowers alternate with trefoil flowers in the curved areas created by the vine.

Folio 16A: Text 11:19-33

Left: A crowned male divinity wearing a yellow dhotī decorated with red dots, and carrying a bow made of flowers, sits on a white ledge against a blue background. One hand holds the bow while the other indicates discussion. He wears large round earrings, and a white scarf adorns his shoulders. A majestic stylized tree with branches of yellow flowers and an oval crown dominates the right of the composition.

Right: A lady, facing left and holding a vina, sits on the top of a mauve oval mat, against a red background. Her hand is raised in vitarkamudrā. She is arrayed with transparent cholī and black skirt with a white vine pattern into which is inserted a white panel with a border in red and blue "basket weave" design. A wispy tree with green leaves leans toward her.

The figure in the left panel may represent Kāma, the Hindu god of love, who carries a bow made of flowers. If the male is Kāma, then the female in the right panel with the vina is his wife, Rati.

Borders:

top-- An undulating band of white clouds separates the blue sky from a black band with white slashes of rain. Two pairs of yellow birds streak through the storm.

bottom--There is a black arabesque vine across a white ground in the upper register and in the lower, abstract slashes and round objects in green and red arranged in a random pattern, similar to that seen in folios 1A,4B,11A,12B, and 14B left.

Folio 16B: Text 11:34-46

Left: A lady sits on an open lotus flower against a green background within a chhatrī-topped pavilion. She wears a diaphanous cholī, sheer, stiff odhani, and a red skirt with blue dots contained in yellow squares. A hook protrudes from the left pilaster.

Right: A footstool is situated beneath a high-backed chair covered with an oval mat, within a chhatrī-topped pavilion. A sheer odhani hangs from a hook on the left pilaster. The red background is damaged.

These illustrations do not relate to the text. The folio is similar in composition to folio 15B.

Borders:

top-- Six yellow triangular-shaped flowers break a mauve background. Rust colored leaves emerge from the tops of the flowers, while a blue diamond shpaed motif is placed in between each yellow flower.

bottom--Birds, yellow and red, alternate within white foliated medallions against a blue ground.

Folio 17A: Text 11:47-50 and 12:1-9

Left: Against a brilliant yellow background a dark maid is fanning her mistress, who appears to have swooned and whose head lies on the maid's lap. The mistress wears a red cholī and green skirt, which has been inset with a white panel containing a border design of a "basket weave" pattern. Both women are bejewled but wear different types of earrings: round for the maid and plug for the mistress. A red fabric swagger with blue and red tassels hangs above the two ladies. The fan which the maid uses is patterned in the familiar blue and red "basket weave" design. The mistress' legs break through the right side of this panel into the lower border.

Right: Two ducks, one white and the other dark brown, swim in a pond of water encased in a stepped

tank formed by white bricks. The water is rendered as a "basket weave" pattern of blue. Two trees, one a banana, the other with a thin trunk and green leaves, rise from behind the tank against a red background.

Neither of these illustrations relate to the text.

Borders:

top-- At the top is blue sky, then a row of white cloud forms and a band of black with white slashes of rain. This border extends into both the left and right panels.

bottom--Divided in half by a vertical line, the left half is red with a flowering branch of green leaves, while the right half is green with sprigs of yellow leaves.

Folio 17B: Text 12:10-26

Left: A girl, looking to the right, sits on top of an oval, mauve mat within a chhatrī-topped pavilion. She wears a transparent cholī, sheer, stiff odhani, and a blue skirt.

Right: Two trees grow against a green background. The right tree is red having a stylized oval crown with yellow leaves; the other is a banana tree, with red and orange leaves. The horizon is

divided by a diagonal band of white clouds. The upper portion is blue and the lower black. At the base of the panel is a horizontal row of chevron stripes.

Neither of these illustrations relate to the text.

Borders:

top-- A curved band of white clouds divides the area; the upper mauve, the lower black with two pair of parotts perched against the horizon.

bottom--A yellow split palmette vine winds across a blue ground. Originally the flowers palced in the curved areas made by the vine were white but much of the paint has been lost and they now appear a lighter shade of blue which is the underpaint.

Folio 18A: Text 12:27-39 and 13:1-4

Left: Against a chhatrī-topped pavilion with a red background a figure with many eyes on his body stands with his hands in añjali mudrā. He wears a mauve dhotī and faces to the right. His shoulders are covered by an orange scarf with a border design in a "basket weave" pattern.

Right: A four-armed figure of the goddess sits on an open lotus flower, which is in turn supported

by a feline. The Devi carries a shield and a sword, while her hands display a clenched fist and abhaya mudrā. She is dressed in a yellow cholī and green skirt with red dots, and wears a crown and jewels. The pavilion has a dome on top and is flanked by parts of the crenelated wall.

In these illustrations, Indra, king of the gods, worships the Devī. The text accompanying this leaf enumerates all the merits that an individual can gain by worshipping the Devī. She will bring wealth, health, prosperity, sons, salvation, and safety to all those who perform pūjā in her honor. In the illustration, even the gods show her devotion and gratitude for her safely delivering them from the asuras Madhu and Kaiṭabha, Mahisha, and Śumbha and Niśumbha.

Borders:

top-- Against a green background is a conventionalized frieze of alternating addorsed white swans and yellow vines with red diamond centers.

bottom--This border was designed to show eleven open petals of a lotus flower in mauve, but is badly damaged. At the tip of each petal alternated blue and white open flowers.

Folio 18B: Text 13:5-17

Left: A dark man wearing a white dhotī and a flat white turban kneels in front of a white horse. His

sash is long and tied with a knot at the waist. The horse is saddled in red, a yellow bag hanging on the side. A large banana tree with yellow leaves rises to the left across the green background.

Right: An ash-colored ascetic, wearing an orange dhotī, sits on a leopard skin. A man kneeling before the yogi offers him a white cup. The man wears a white dhotī and a black flat turban and carries a sword. His sash is long and tied with a knot at the waist. The background is red, the pavilion is domed.

Having recited the entire Devīmāhātmya, the ṛiṣi Medhas is now thanked by the king, Suratha. The illustrations follow the text which states: "having hear this, king Suratha prostrated himself before the ṛiṣi of austere vows." (13:4) In the left panel, the vaiṣya, Samādhi, holds the king's horse, while Suratha offers the ṛiṣi some food in gratitude.

Borders:

top-- A horizontal wavy band of white clouds divides the blue top from the black bottom which has white slashes indicating rain.

bottom--A straight horizontal line divides the stark green from the solid white band below.

Notes to Chapter II

1. B.N. Sharma, Iconography of Sadāśiva,(New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1976), pl.XXXIV and pl.XXXV; P.Pal, Bronzes of Kashmir, (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck, 1975) pl.89.

2. Pal, Kashmir, p.228.

3. Pal, Kashmir, pl.90; P.Pal, Sensuous Immortals,(Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1976), figs. 26, 30; J. Rosenfield, The Arts of India and Nepal: The Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1966), p.63; D. Barrett, "Bronzes from Northwest India and Western Pakistan," Lalit Kala 11 (1962): pl. 30,no.21.

4. See figure 1 and the references for footnote number 1 for other examples of this type of bronze.

5. J.N. Banerjea, The Development of Hindu Iconography, (1956; reprint ed. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal,1974), p.501 where an aspect of Durgā Siṃhavāhinī as the mother goddess is described.

6. This iconographic type of the priest, sitting before a shrine, with his hands in a rosary bag, became a popular representation in later Pahari painting. Fig.36 shows a priest from Mandi, c.1740, seated before a shrine to both Śiva, symbolized by the bull and the liṅga, and the Devī, represented by the tiger and the vulva shaped yoni. On his forehead he wears Śākta tilak marks. The inscription on the reverse, in takrī, confirms the Śākta/Śiva attribution: Śrī Devī ra Śiva Jannisar-devoted to Devī and Śiva.

7. In a fourteenth century Nepali Devīmāhātmya manuscript the goddess is also depicted as a seductive youthful girl and not as a heiratic divinity. See P. Pal, Arts of Nepal: Painting, (Leiden: Brill, 1978), fig.55.

8. Pal, Arts of Nepal: Painting, fig. 57 for this same episode in the Nepali manuscript. Though this figure is Viṣṇu, by the simple addition of a curved line for the right breast, the figure could be made to represent Vaiṣṇavī. A fifteenth century Devīmāhātmya in the Prince of Wales Museum has Vaiṣṇavī destroying the pair of demons. P.Pal, "Paintings from Nepal in the Prince of Wales Museum," Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India 10 (1967):pp.1-26.

9. G. Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, vol.1, part 2, (1914; reprint ed. Varanasi, India: Indological Book House, 1971), p.362.

10. Banerjea, Hindu Iconography, p.501.

11. N.K. Bhattasali, Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculpture in the Dacca Museum,(Dacca, Bangladesh: Dacca Museum, 1929), pp.202-203.

12. Banerjea, Hindu Iconography, pp.504-505; Bhattasali, Dacca Museum, p.207.

13. Bhattasali, Dacca Museum, p.208.

14. A. Danielou, Hindu Polytheism,(New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964), p.271.

15. I am grateful to Dr. P.Pal for this information and for providing extensive discussion on this matter.

III. THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE SIMLA DEVĪMĀHĀTMYA MANUSCRIPT

The illustrations of the Simla Devīmāhātmya manuscript can be divided into three categories: 1) those which relate to the text, 2) those which relate to Hindu iconography but not specifically to the Devīmāhātmya, 3) those which bear no apparent relationship to any established religious iconography but may be part of the general literary tradition.

I

By far the largest group of illustrations are those which show a relationship to the text of the Devīmāhātmya. Many of the panels follow the textual reference exactly. However, others depict themes in the text, but are not placed where they should be. There seems to be no particular pattern behind this alteration of the order of the illustrations. Rather, the mis-placement of these illustrations seems to have been done at random.

The following are the leaves in which the illustrations are in concordance with the textual passage contained in the central panel of their respective folios:

3B: Indra, and perhaps, Kāla worship the Devī
5B: Chikshura, general of the asura army, attacks the Devī

7A: Homage to the goddess by the gods
7B: Perhaps Medhas and Suratha in discussion
9A: Sugrīva attempting to pursuade the Devī to marry Śumbha
11A: Kālī and Chaṇḍikā
11B: Worship of Chaṇḍikā by two devotees
12A: Worship of the goddess
13B: Worship of Chaṇḍikā as she attacks the asura Śumbha
14A: left panel, Destruction of Niśumbha
14B: An ascetic, perhaps Medhas, performing pūjā
15A: Death of the asura general Dhūmralocana
18A: Indra worships the Devī
18B: Suratha pays homage to the sage Medhas

In a few instances the related verse may commence on the prior page or conclude on the following page, but in general there is accurate coordination of the theme between the text and the illustrations.

A few of the leaves do not follow the text in sequence. It appears that there may have been some confusion on the part of either the priest who was instructing the artist, or the artist himself. The following are the leaves in which the sequence has been altered:

2A: Durgā killing the buffalo Mahishasura
3A: Suratha, Samādhi and Medhas
5A: Suratha visiting Medhas at his hermitage
6A: Vaiṣṇavī killing the asuras Madhu and Kaiṭabha
10A: Worship of Siṃhavāhinī

Folios 2A and 6A: The illustration for the left panel of folio 2A is related to the text passage accompanying folio 6A. In turn, the illustration of the left panel of folio 6A, matches the text of folio 2A. Thus the left panels of 2A and 6A should be exchanged. The text of folio 2A (1:66-78) narrates the destruction of Madhu and Kaiṭabha, illustrated in the left panel of folio 6A. In

turn, the text of folio 6A (3:27-41) describes the destruction of Mahisha, the buffalo demon, which is illustrated on folio 2A.

Folio 3A: In addition to juxtapositioning folios 2A and 6A, two other illustrations, 3A and 5A, do not belong in the sequence in which they have been placed. The text of folio 3A (2:1-11) describes the triumph of the asura Mahisha over the gods, who represent the forces of good. Subsequently the gods lost their influence over the world, and turbulence and chaos resulted. The illustrations accompanying this leaf, 3A, do not reflect this description. These illustrations however, do illustrate the text from an earlier part of the manuscript. The text of 1:27-28 (folio 1B) concerns the initial meeting of Suratha, the king, Samādhi, the vaiṣya, and Medhas, the ascetic, probably the scene that is illustrated on folio 3A.

Folio 5A: Folio 5A is also out of sequence. The text of folio 5A deals with the Devī's slaughter of the armies of Mahisha (2:59-68). The paintings on the folio do not relate to that subject. However, in an earlier chapter, (1:8, folio 1A) we are told that Suratha left his country on horseback, and traveled to the hermitage of Medhas. The illustrations of folio 5A may represent the arrival of Suratha at the hermitage and his presentation of an offering to the sage. His horse remains tethered to a nearby tree.

Folio 10A: Folio 10A shows the worship of Simhavāhinī, or Durgā on her lion. This theme is not specifically referred to in the text, but is of such pertinent subject matter that it can be understood as relating to the text in a generalized manner. In essence it deals with the concept of adulation toward the Devī which is, of course, the main theme of the entire text. For this reason it has been included in the section in which the text and illustrations coincide.

II

There are six panels in the manuscript which do not follow the Devīmāhātmya text, but can nevertheless be identified securely since they fit into well known Hindu iconographic types. The following is a list of these panels and their subject matter:

1A: left, Mahābhairavī
1A: right, Mother-goddess aspect of the Devī
6B: left, Yoganidrā aspect of the Devī
10B: left, Lustration of the Devī
16A: left, Kāma, the god of love
16A: right, Rati, wife of Kāma

Folio 1A: The left panel of folio 1A represents Mahābhairavī, a ferocious aspect of the female principal associated with the Bhairava aspect of Śiva. As noted in the section of chapter two relating to this illustration, there are numerous sculptural prototypes for this painting.[1] From extant sculpture it appears that this tantric sculptural form was prevalent in the hill region. No Mahābhai-

ravī image of this type is known to come from any other region than the hills. This type of image would have been familiar to the painter of the hills and it would have been a simple matter to make the transfer from a three dimensional representation to a two dimensional one. In fact, in comparing folio 1A left with one of the known sculptures, (fig.1) the visual dependency of the painting on the sculpture is unmistakable.

It is not inappropriate for this picture to be included in this manuscript, even though it does not relate precisely to the text. Coming as it does on the opening leaf, accompanied by the representation of the donors, Mahābhairavī would be a fitting frontispiece for a manuscript devoted to the Devī, particularly because of her popularity among hill people. Of the numerous religious cults existing in the hill region those devoted to the Devī, or particular aspects of the Devī, are by far the most prevalent. It is possible that Mahābhairavī was the patron goddess of the donors and they chose to have themselves depicted with her image.

The right panel of folio 1A represents the mother- goddess aspect of the Devī. Again, this iconographic form is not specifically included in the Devīmāhātmya text. However, it is not uncommon to find this ancient benign aspect incorporated into many different types of devotional forms. Worship of the mother-goddess was prevalent all over the

Indian subcontinent and numerous sculptual representations exist which could have been the visual prototype for the Simla painting. Figure 2 illustrates an example of this general iconographic type. The four-armed Devī sits on a couchant lion, holding attributes which are symbolic of beauty and fertility, as well as majesty. She holds a mirror, a child, a fruit and a sword. The painting in the manuscript is extremely close to the sculpture in its visual relationship. In the painting the four-armed Devī sits on a couchant lion, holds mango flowers and fruits in her upper hands, a child in her lower left, while the lower right hand reaches out for another child in front of her.

Folio 6B: The illustration of the left panel of folio 6B appears to be a secular subject, and yet it may have deeper religious connotations. Interpreted as the Yoganidrā aspect of the Devī,[2] it represents a special state of half-consciousness in which a divinity rests between activities. Gopinath Rao[3] describes the Devī as she is seen here, on a bed with a water vessel nearby.

Folio 10B: The left panel of folio 10B represents a very ancient iconographic concept in which the goddess is lustrated by a pair of elephants, fig.3. Sculptural representations of this subject have been popular forms of worship since before the beginning of the Christian era. The most common diety associated with lustration sculptures is that of Lakṣmi, the wife of Viṣṇu and the goddess of good for-

tune In folio 10B, however, the goddess who is lustrated is not Lakṣmi, but probably Durgā. This is borne out by her attributes of the trident, carried in the upper left hand and the skull cup held in the lower right. Her association with beauty is established by the presence of the mirror held in the lower left hand, while fecundity is expressed by the vase held in the upper right. The mirror and water pot emphasize her benign aspects, while the trident and skull cup relate to her tantric, ferocious forms. A further indication of her Śivaite affiliation is the presence of the two felines at the base of the shrine. Śiva's consort rides either a lion or a tiger.

The scene in the right panel may represent Śiva's consort bringing refreshment to the Supreme Ascetic in a white water pot.[4] If so, it would add even more evidence for an attribution for the left panel as the lustration of Durgā.

Folio 16A: Both panels of this folio depict subjects familiar in Hindu iconography, although they are not specifically associated with the Devīmāhātmya. In the left panel is the god Kāma, the Eros of Indian mythology. His distinctive attribute is the flower bow which he carries over his shoulder. Interestingly, the string here is formed by a row of bees. Illustrations of Kāma are known from other fifteenth and sixteenth century manuscripts[5] setting a precedent for this iconographic type.

In the panel on the right a lady sits on an oval mat,

with one hand in a gesture of discussion, the other holding a stringed musical instrument, known as a vīṇā. She is Rati, Kāma's wife. Music being an essential element for love, she is often included with her husband in visual representations. A fifteenth century illustration from the Vasanta Vilasa scroll shows this union.[6]

III

In addition to the folios already cited, there are seven panels in the present manuscript which are related to pictures from other illustrated manuscripts done during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These panels are:

1B: A lady with her hands over her head; a charpaī
2A: right, A lady running during a rainstorm, a peacock in a tree
8B: right, Two ladies seated on a ledge, one talking, the other listening
9A: left, A lady sits on a stool, a man kneels before her
9B: A lady plays a vīnā under a tree; two deer in the woods
12B: A blue skinned figure holds a lady seated next to him
14B: An ascetic and a temple

Although these seven panels have no apparent relationship to the Devīmāhātmya text they show iconographic motifs and compositions that occur in other contemporary illuminated manuscripts both sacred and secular. Throughout Indian thought the relationship between the sacred and the secular has always been closely intertwined, rather than strictly separated. Much of the secular literature of India is concerned with love and the various emotional states associ-

ated with love. The heroes and heroines of this romantic literature are both human and divine and usually are depicted in stereotyped roles of heroes and heroines.

The concept of the idealized hero developed very early in Indian literature. As early as the first century A.D. Bharata in his Natya-shastra classifies the dramatic hero according to character type, e.g. haughty, sportive, noble-minded or calm. This concept of the idealized hero was expanded over the centuries into a number of highly complicated systems, based on age, character, and emotional response when in romantic situations. Along with the development and classification of the male hero, nāyaka, the concept of the female heroine, nāyikā, was enlarged and classified along the same lines.

Since the heroes and heroines were conceived to be idealized types, they quickly became associated with manifestations of celestial deities. The Viṣṇuites, for example adopted the concept of the idealized hero most ferverently and identified him with the figure of Kriṣna. From the twelfth century onward there developed a large body of literature depicting Kriṣna as the divine lover and hero. As a result, the association between the sacred and secular merged even closer. For example, the Gīta Govinda, one of the most famous poems relating to Kriṣna, can be interpreted both as a sensual love poem or a mystical song of devotion as the soul searches for union with the divine Lord

Kriṣna.

> One cowherdess with heavy breasts embraces Hari [Kriṣna] lovingly
> And celebrates him in a melody of love.
> Hari revels here as the crowd of charming girls
> Revels in seducing him to play.[7]

> While her body lies sick from smoldering fever of love,
> Her heart suffers strange slow suffocation
> In mirages of sandalbalm, moonlight, lotus pools.
> When exhaustion forces her to meditate on you,
> On the cool body of her solitary lover,
> She feels secretly revived-
> For a moment the feeble girl breathes life.[8]

The same sense of ambiguity which infiltrated the Gīta Govinda, is present in the Devī text too. Essentially a religious text devoted to aspects of the goddess, it also contains elements of secular adoration. In many instances the text of the Devīmāhātyma describes the goddess not in celestial terms, but in physical terms befitting a princess or heroine:

> Slightly smiling, spotless, resembling the full moon's orb, beautiful as the choicest gold, and lovely was thy face! (4:11)

She is called "beautiful browed" (5:38) and her body is described as a "treasure house" (5:38). She comes to the river to bathe and is seen by the servants of the demon Śumbha who report to their master that she is "surpassingly captivating" and "such sublime beauty was never in sooth seen by anyone anywhere" (5:42-43). They can not contain themselves and go on to say that she is "a gem among women, surpassingly beautiful in body, illuminating the regions of the

sky with her lustre" (5:45).

The male asuras, though demonic in nature, are never described in terrifying terms, but rather in words which evoke admiration of their physical and manly qualities. Śumbha and Niśumbha are said to have trusted in their "pride and strength" (5:1) in order to rob the gods of the three worlds. When Śumbha sends his messenger to the Devī, he emphasizes his physical prowess, telling her that he has "vanquished every foe" (5:58). Śumbha is further described as "mighty in valor" (9:6), "the lord of the asuras, majestic Śumbha" (7:2). Even the goddess says "so strong as this is Śumbha! and so exceedingly heroic is Niśumbha!" (5:75).

From these descriptions of both the Devī and the asuras it is clear that we are in the realm of the idealized hero and heroine, and not the removed, hieratic world of gods and goddesses. Thus, it can be argued that in the Devīmāhātmya text the Devī is given the role of the idealized heroine, nāyikā, while the asuras are conceived as the heroes, nāyakas, much the same as the treatment of Kriṣna as the hero, and Rādhā, his beloved cowgirl, as the heroine in Vaiṣṇava literature.

To illustrate this romantic literature, there appeared standard visual compositions which were used to convey emotional attitudes relating to the heroes and heroines, be they princely types or religious deities. Given the kind

of descriptions which we find expressed in the Devī text which associates it with heroes and heroines, it is not surprising to find these same visual illustrations adorning the illustrated Devī manuscript.

One such illustration occurs on folio 9A, where we see a man kneeling before a lady seated on a stool. A Maithili poem by Vidyāpati, glorifying the love of Kriṣna, captures the scene precisely, when Kriṣna falls at Rādhā's feet and says:

> Beloved, what more shall I say to you?
> In life and in death, in birth after birth
> You are the lord of my life.
> A noose of love binds
> My heart to your feet,
> My mind fixed on you alone, I have offered
> you everything;
> In truth, I have become your slave.[9]

In addition, the verse accompanying a similar illustration from the Vasanta Vilāsa, a story about the awakening of love during the Spring season, (fig.4) is just as applicable to the Devī page:

> Your lover is sunk in humility [before you],
> why do you not give him a glance? My dear
> friend, he has made a silly remark![10]

The versatility of this illustration becomes even more manifest when we realize that it was also used in the Caurapañcāśikā, a tale of a noble and his beloved. Bilhaṇa, the hero, recollects his favorite, Champāvatī, and his attempt to win her back after a quarrel (fig.5). It appears in a Rāgamālā series, a musical text (fig.6), and in a

Rasikapriyā manuscript, which describes the various states of emotion common to heroes and heroines (fig.7). Secular or sacred, Devī or Kriṣna, the same illustrations were transferred from one type of manuscript to another. The meaning or implication of the composition might differ depending on whether it occurrs in a religious or in a secular text, nevertheless stock visual material was repeated over and over again.[11]

The remaining pages of this group from the Devī manuscript can be placed into this category of illustrations used for a variety of purposes. Folio 1B, a lady seated on a mat, hands over her head and facing to the left, can be found in the Vasanta Vilāsa (fig.8) where a dancing girl strikes the same position, and also in a Rāgamālā page (fig. 9) which shows the identical composition although reversed. The distressed and lonely heroine in all three illustrations can be described as follows:

> Though suffering the agony of separation for a long time, she does not speak to her friends. Having made a bed she does not sleep on it out of modesty. Though her speech has been choked with emotion, she is controlling her tears out of bashfulness. Kamadeva [the god of love] alone knows the pains of separation suffered by the lotus-faced Nāyikā.[12]

The heroine who plays her vīṇā in the forest and charms the hearts of the animals, especially the gentle deer which follow her, was one of the most popular visual images used during this period. Again we are confronted with repeated versions of this theme in folio 9B, in fig.10 from the

Vasanta Vilāsa, and in fig. 11, a representation of Ṭoḍī rāgiṇī from a Rāgamālā series. All of our ladies fit the description of:

> The Nāyikā who walks lonely with her vīṇā in hand, amidst the trees of a forest, surrounded by deer which she has fascinated by her play.[13]

The remaining panels previously listed can similarly be related to paintings from manuscripts dissimilar in their specific subject matter, yet having a common overriding romantic strain.[14]

Thus it is clear that even though the Devī manuscript was essentially an object of religious devotion both in its commission and in the continual recitation of it, the artist conceived of the goddess both as a divinity and as a heroine. As a result, we find included in the illustrations, panels that are shared by contemporary secular manuscripts treating various aspects of literature. Actually, as early as the Ajanta murals we have paintings depicting religious subject matter within an essentially secular setting.

The panels in the Simla manuscript which have not been discussed thus far present certain problems in terms of identification. These panels do not fit into any clearly established iconographic pattern, be it sacred or secular. They fall into one of two categories: those of generalized subject matter and those with explicit subject matter which does not have any relationship to the Devī manuscript or the

other sources already covered, but may relate to literary sources.

The following are the illustrations which are of general subjects:

4A: A lady standing alone, two men in conversation
4B: A lady seated on a stool, a water tank
6B: right, A lady standing with deer
8A: right, An unoccupied pavilion
8A: left, A lady seated alone
8B: left, A lady kneeling on a tile floor conversing
12B: right, A lady seated alone in a pavilion
15B: left, A charpaī in a pavilion
15B: right, A lady seated beside a water pond
16B: left, A lady seated on a lotus
16B: right, A chair in a pavilion
17B: left, A lady seated in a pavilion
17B: right, A group of trees

The illustrations fall into one of three categories: 1) a woman seated alone (folios 4B,8A left, 12B right, 15B right, 16B left, 17B left), 2) a woman standing alone (folios 4A, 6B right), 3) a pavilion scene (folios 8A right, 15B left, 16B right). Folio 17B right, unique in its landscape composition, is an exception to the above three groups.

Since the text in the center of each leaf does not give any information which would aide in the identification of these panels, and because of their general nature, specific identification or clarification of their meaning is not possible at this time. It is not unusual to find manuscripts of the period in which each illustration does not conform to the accompanying textual passage.[15]

In contrast to the above panels which are of universal

subjects, there are three leaves which contain subject matter which is most specific:

2B: A lady performing ablutions at a tank, a lady walking among trees carrying a large bowl
13A: A man climbing a tree in an attempt to elude a pursuing snake, a landscape with a tree trunk or root
17A: A swooning lady and her maid, a water tank with a goose

The elaborate compositions and painting technique of these pages are among the most ambitious in the manuscript, yet they defy specific identification except in the descriptive terms used above. Throughout the whole of the manuscript there is no textual reference, be it implied or explicit, which can be assigned to these pages.[16]

As with the group of general subjects, these specific themes will have to remain unexplained until more information emerges. By the nature of their narrative quality they appear to derive from illustrations to literary manuscripts unknown at the present time. Any interpretation as to their meaning within the context of the Simla manuscript would be conjecture, difficult to substantiate.

Notes to Chapter III

1. Sharma, Iconography of Sadāśiva, pl.XXXIV and pl. XXXV; Pal, Kashmir, p.89.

2. Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography,vol.1, part 2, p.362.

3. Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography,vol.1, part 2, p.362.

4. K.J.Khandalavala and M. Chandra, An Illustrated Āraṇyaka Parvan in the Asiatic Society of Bombay,(Bombay: Asiatic Society of Bombay, 1974), fig.8. This figure shows an almost identical composition with Gangā bringing the water pot to Śiva. Many times when Śiva is given two consorts, Gangā becomes his auxiliary wife in addition to Durgā. The same composition is again used in fig. 34 of the Āraṇyaka Parvan where Draupadī waits upon Yudhishṭhira.

5. W.N.Brown, The Vasanta Vilāsa,(New Haven, Conn: American Oriental Society, 1962), pl.6, fig.11; K.J.Khandalavala, "A Gīta Govinda Series in the Prince of Wales Museum," Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India 4 (1953-54):1-18, and pl. A.

6. Brown, Vasanta Vilāsa, pl.7, fig.13.

7. B.S.Miller, ed. and trans., Love Song of the Dark Lord, Jayadeva's Gīta Govinda,(New York:Columbia University Press, 1977), p.76.

8. Miller, Love Song, p.89.

9. E.C.Dimock,Jr. and D.Levertov, trans., In Praise of Krishna, Songs from the Bengali,(New York: Doubleday, 1967), p.57.

10. Brown, Vasanta Vilāsa, p.47.

11. For instance, folio 8B right relates to Patamañjarī rāgiṇī, fig.14, and to fig.15, a Nāyikā and her Sakhī (confidant), from a Rasikapriyā, both of which are secular manuscripts; and also to fig.16, showing Draupadī and Satyabhāmā from the Āraṇyaka Parvan of the Mahābhārata and to the Gīta Govinda (see Khandalavala,"Gīta Govinda", plate II,fig.

1), both of which are religious texts. The impact of these standard visual compositions seems to have made itself felt in the early sixteenth century. Fig.30 illustrates the same scene as folio 9A, yet is from a Gujarat rendition of the Devīmāhātmya of the fifteenth century. Sugrīva stands in supplication before the Devī, rather than kneeling as in folio 9A. The Simla version shows influence from romantic compositions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

12. M.S.Randhawa and S.D.Bhambri, "Basohli Paintings of Bhanudatta's Rasamanjari," Roopa-Lekha 36:1-2 (1967): p.43.

13. K. Ebeling, Rāgamālā Painting,(Basel: Kumar, 1973), p.122.

14. Folio 2A right is the same composition as fig.12, Madhumādhavī rāgiṇī; folio 14B resembles fig.13, Baṇgāla rāgiṇī; folio 12B closely captures the mood of fig.17, Kriṣna as the Nāyaka, hero, in conversation with the messenger from a Rasikapriyā. See footnotes 4 and 11 for other examples of multiple use of a single composition.

15. Brown, Vasanta Vilāsa, pp.180,182,222,224,228; W. N.Brown, The Saundaryalaharī,(Cambridge:Harvard University, 1958), pp.187,189,191.

16. In folio 17A we see a maid holding a lady who has swooned. This subject is frequently found in manuscripts depicting the story of Mādhavānala and Kāmakandalā, two tragic lovers. In the story, both the hero and the heroine faint and there are representations of both subjects. Though popular in Rajasthan (see S.C.Welch, A Flower From Every Meadow,(New York:Asia House,1973), pl.23 and P.Pal, The Flute and the Brush,(Newport Beach, California: Newport Harbor Art Museum, 1976), pl.30) Pahari versions also abound, see figure 18 of this dissertation. The earliest version of the story is a manuscript done in the popular Mughal tradition, probably at Amber (see K,J.Khandalavala, M.Chandra, and P. Chandra, Miniature Paintings from the Sri Motichand Khajanchi Collection, (New Delhi:Lalit Kala Akademi,1960), no.17.

IV. STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE SIMLA *DEVĪMĀHĀTMYA* ILLUSTRATED PANELS

The Simla *Devīmāhātmya* manuscript bears a colophon (folio 18B) which gives the date and place of production. Intensive analysis and interpretation of that colophon is the subject of chapter five. At this point it is necessary only to state that the date of the manuscript is either 1574 or 1581 A.D. and the place mentioned correlates with the city of Jaisinghpur, in the eastern portion of Kangra state.

Any colophon may be suspect on various grounds and should be justified by all available evidence. In this chapter, the date appearing in the colophon is corroborated through stylistic analysis of the manuscript illustrations and by comparison with related material.

The production of painting in the pre-Akbar period, before 1560, falls into four main stylistic categories: 1) Western Indian or Jain style, which, however, has been found as far east as Jaunpur, near Benares and as far south as Mandu; 2) *Caurapañcāśikā*, which flourished in the Delhi-Jaunpur geographical belt; 3)*Candāyana* style, which comes primarily from the area around Jaunpur; and 4)Indo-Persian style paintings, which have been found near Delhi, in

Central India, the Deccan,and Bengal. All of these styles except the Indo-Persian exerted an influence on the Simla Devīmāhātmya manuscript.

The Simla manuscript, which was painted in the Punjab Hills, comes from a geographical area removed from both western India and the Delhi-Jaunpur belt, the provenance of most Western India, Caurapañcāśikā, and Candāyana style paintings. There is, nevertheless, sufficient evidence in the Simla paintings to indicate that the artist was well acquainted with all three styles. The Simla artist did not solely follow one style of painting, but incorporated certain specific elements from each tradition into the painted sections of the Simla pages.

Prior to and during the sixteenth century it was the area of western India and Gujarat that produced the largest number of manuscripts and provided employment for the largest number of artists. Because of this enormous output of talent and volume of material it is not surprising to find that elements of the Western India style are to be found in a large portion of the manuscripts produced in the first three quarters of the sixteenth century, whether they be in the Caurapañcāśikā, Candāyana, or Mughal style. The Devīmāhātmya manuscript is no exception.

Although the Western Indian style is usually associated with Jain manuscripts, generally made for Jain merchants of Gujarat, it was also used to illustrate manuscripts of

Hindu subject matter.[1] As a result painters working in the Western Indian style were well versed in a variety of subjects which could be employed when needed.

Like the contemporary Western India style, the Caurapañcāśikā[2] was adapted to almost any non-Islamic subject matter. A relatively large body of painting was done in this style during the sixteenth century,[3] coming from a variety of geographical areas in northern India. Based on the number of manuscripts extant, it is evident that there must have been many painters working in this style, or close variants, although it was not as common as the Western Indian style. Paintings in this style were not restricted to a single subject matter but encompassed Rāgamālā subjects (figs.6,9,13,14), Bhāgavata Purāṇas (figs.19,20,21), a Gīta Govinda,[4] a Laur Chand,[5] parts of the Mahābhārata,[6] and also a Jain Mahāpurāṇa.[7]

Paintings in the Caurapañcāśikā style span almost the entire period of the sixteenth century[8] and can be arranged into chronological groups according to stylistic progression. The first group falls into a period from 1516 to 1540 and includes the "Suri" Rāgamālā.[9] We have already discussed a few leaves from this Rāgamālā (figs.6,9,13,14) in comparing the close relationship between some of the "Suri" compositions and those of the Devī manuscript (chapter three, pp. 77-79). In comparison with later sixteenth century painting in the Caurapañcāśikā style, for example figs.19,

20, the format of the "Suri" is more simplified, with decoration used in a spartan manner. Technically, the "Suri" is closer to folk or provincial painting than the more polished and refined appearance of the Caurapañcāśikā (figs. 5, 22).

Following the "Suri" in date are the Caurapañcāśikā itself (figs.5,22) as well as a widely dispursed copy of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa[10] (figs.19,20). Both of these manuscripts, along with other paintings,[11] date to the period from 1540 to 1560. They are a further development of the type of painting seen in the "Suri", showing a more complex use of the spatial surface. Because of the narrative character of the texts, there was greater opportunity for variety of compositions, implementing new design arrangements and decorative features such as textile and architecture.

It was this group of paintings which exerted the greatest influence on the Simla manuscript. According to the colophon the Simla manuscript can be dated to either 1574 or 1581, a time lag that can be explained by the fact that it was produced in a remote area of the Himalayas, away from the plains. For this reason, the Devī manuscript, though later in date, can be considered along with this 1540-1560 group and not with paintings done in the Caurapañcāśikā style after the advent of the Mughals (figs.11,21,23).

The Candāyana style[12] of painting (fig.24) is distin-

guished by a pale palette, a delicate rendering of the line, and profuse use of decorative elements such as clouds, arabesque scrolls, patterned tiles, and sumptuous textiles. This style was centered primarily in eastern Uttar Pradesh near Benares and was not as widespread nor as popular as either the Western Indian or Caurapañcáśikā. The Candāyana paintings have absorbed elements of both the Indo-Persian group and also the Caurapañcáśikā type of paintings, and thus their direct influence on the Simla manuscript is difficult to determine and seems to have existed only minimally. Yet there is enough evidence to suggest that the Simla artist was aware of Candāyana painting, even though remotely.

I

One of the most important and obvious influences adopted by the Simla painter from the earlier traditions was the method of composition which he used. He arranged each folio into five sections, four smaller panels surrounding a large central rectangle of text (folio 1A). The two horizontal panels at the top and bottom, which contain decorative motifs, are narrower than the vertical panels at each side which contain the primary didactic compositions. This format is maintained throughout both sides of all eighteen leaves of the Devī manuscript.

A precedent for organizing the folios into rectangular

blocks can be found in Jain manuscripts in general.[13] Yet in a particular Kalpasūtra manuscript done for the Devaśānopāḍa Bhaṇḍār in Ahmedabad and dated to circa 1475 (fig.25) is found an identical arrangement of the rectangles as in the Simla manuscript. This Jain manuscript is unique in its lavish painterly quality and elaborate decorative compositions[14] and is known to have exerted an influence over later manuscript painting.[15]

It is quite possible that because of its importance the Devaśānopāḍa Kalpasūtra was an inspiration either directly or remotely for the Simla painter. Certainly there is a relationship in the over-all organization of both manuscripts.

Almost all manuscript painting done in the Caurapañcāśikā style in the pre-Akbar period follows a horizontal format, reminscent of the heritage of earlier palm leaf manuscripts. Whether the horizontal layout of the Devīmāhātmya manuscript is directly related to the earlier Jain tradition, or whether it derived from the Caurapañcāśikā model, which had already been influenced by the Jain format, is difficult to determine.

The use of a horizontal framework in Rajput painting is particular to the sixteenth century and only around the year 1600, (figs.11,12,23) does it begin to be abandoned in favor of a vertical format. The adoption of the vertical format was solely due to the influence of Akbari Mughal

manuscript painting,[16] which employed the vertical layout, ultimately derived from Persian painting.

Thus, the horizontal arrangement used for the Devīmāhātmya manuscript is one of the elements justifying a sixteenth century dating rather than a later one.

In addition to the influence of the Jain and Caurapañcāśikā manuscripts, I would like to point out a marginal relationship between the Simla pages and paintings we find in the Candāyana group. The pavilion setting used in most of the compositions of the Simla manuscript is derived from the Candāyana model (fig.24). Comparing this Candāyana illustration with folios 6B,14A,16B clearly shows the relationship. Chhatrīs are used as the crowning elements in the Candāyana pavilions, which are occupied by a charpaī, decorated with elaborate textiles, a seated lady, and brass vessels, just as in the Simla panels. More direct architectural comparisons will be mentioned later in this chapter.

While there are scenes using pavilions in other early illustrated manuscripts, in no other illustrated manuscripts of the sixteenth century do we find the abundance of pavilion compositions seen in the Candāyana and Simla pages. In both of these manuscripts the pavilion is the dominant backdrop, repeated in the same manner and form, time after time. In other manuscripts, such as the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (fig.19) the shape of the pavilion and even the number of pavilions depicted varies from page to page. In

both the Candāyana and the Simla paintings however, the representations of the pavilions are constant and no diversification is apparent, notwithstanding the fact that the theme may vary throughout the manuscript.

In figure placement too there seems to have been compositional similarities between the Candāyana and Simla pages. The figures in the lower section of fig.24 are close to those in folios 3A left, 4A right, and 7B right. Whether the Candāyana influence was direct or indirect remains a question, yet it certainly seems evident in at least the area of composition. The conceptual attitude toward the use of pavilions in repetitive fashion is a unique link between the two manuscripts, the most obvious connection.

II

The Simla Devīmāhātmya manuscript fits into the Caurapañcāśikā group in terms of general stylistic similarities. As such it extends the geographical boundaries of Caurapañcāśikā style painting into the lower foothills of the Punjab. Caurapañcāśikā style paintings (figs.5,6,9,13,14,19, 20,22) use a rich palette of deep reds, blues, greens,yellows, and whites in combinations which are dramatic and especially lively. The backgrounds are flat and usually of a single color, either red or green, with an occasional yellow to add variety. All of the forms, be they architecture. landscape, people, are portrayed as single blocks of primary

color arranged in a geometric fashion against a flat plane of contrasting primary color,(figs.5,6,9,13,14,19,20,22).

This is the same color patterning which is followed by the Simla painter. The figures are placed against flat, single colored backdrops when the setting is an interior one (folios 3A,3B,4A,4B; fig.22). This is true also for outdoor compositions in which a flat plane of color is meant to indicate an exterior scene (folios 6A,6B,8A; fig.5).

The Caurapañcāśikā style painters developed an important pattern of color usage in regard to the placement of white in their paintings. All manuscripts in the Caurapañcāśikā style are essentially narrative, regardless of whether the subject matter is sacred or secular. One of the ways in which the Caurapañcāśikā painters stressed the story-telling aspect was to use white pigment to draw attention to the protagonists. White is used for the costume and accessory elements. This white is placed against the flat backgrounds of primary colors and acts to draw the viewer's eye directly to the human figures in an impressive and dramatic manner (folios 9A,7B,11A,13B,15A,17A; figs.5,6,9,13,14,22).

This use of white accounts for the lively and vibrant optical impression that the viewer receives, in contrast to the more subdued reaction generated by the uniform pale palette used in the Candāyana paintings (fig.24).

The striking optical effect of the Caurapañcāśikā prevails in Rajasthan painting even after the influence of

Mughal painting had been absorbed (fig.23). This color patterning was so deeply ingrained that it continued to be practiced in Rajput painting well into the nineteenth century, where it reached its most grandiose expression in the temple hangings (pechwāī) done for the Nāthadwāra shrine near Udaipur.[17]

III

Though the Western Indian and Candāyana painting was influential in terms of organization of the composition in the Simla manuscript, the figure types of these styles was not adopted by the Simla painter. In Western Indian painting, the figure was dominated by a linear quality (figs.8, 10,25,26). Faces had a marked angularity, with pointed noses and chins, and the bodies of the figures were conceived as thin, elongated, and sometimes contorted forms. Extreme stylization rather than naturalization of the subject was the norm.

The Candāyana figure type (fig.24) is closer to the Simla figure due to the use of rounded forms instead of angular ones. But it was the figure types used in the Caurapañcāśikā paintings which acted as the model for the figure adopted by the Simla painter. In the Caurapañcāśikā (figs. 5,19,20,22) the figures are large, situated in the front of the picture plane, occupying the space with a sense of monumentality. Though there is no attempt at the use of

shading to model the torsos, a sense of volume is achieved through the prominent use of rounded lines, giving substance to the figures. All of the faces are in profile, with a flat forehead leading to a triangular nose and bud-shaped mouth.

Throughout Caurapañcāśikā style paintings the figure type remains remarkably constant. A comparison of the faces of the female in the Simla manuscript (folio 8B) with that of the Caurapañcāśikā (figs.5,22) and the Bhāgavata female (fig.19), shows few differences. The shape of the head is almost square, accentuated by the low forehead and flat crown. All have a prominent nose, with major emphasis being placed on the lotus bud-shaped eye, enlarged to occupy a large portion of the facial area. In the Simla manuscript the face is distinguished by a thinner line, perhaps a bit more delicately rendered, than either figures 5,19,or 22.

The torsos of the ladies in the Caurapañcāśikā (fig.5) and the Bhāgavata (fig.19) are comparable to the female in folio 6B right. The voluptuous nature of the female body is stressed through the use of curved lines enveloping the hips and thighs, while the waist is pinched and constricted to help produce the hour-glass figure. Essentially in Indian thought the female figure is the embodiment of grace and elegance. All three of these women stride forward in a lively manner with an air of refinement.

There is also close similarity among the ornamental

features of the ladies in all three manuscripts. Two types of earrings predominate, heavy round ones (folios 8B,9A; figs.5,19) and an ivory or bone plug type (folios 1B,2A,8B, 9A; fig.22). Patterned textiles, either geometric or floral primarily used as skirts, are common on folio 2B right and fig.5. All the ladies wear stiff, transparent odhanīs flowing from their shoulders, while the cholī can either be transparent, as in folio 9A and fig.22, or colored as in folio 8B and figs.5 and 19. Pom-pom tassels are used as embellishment, usually tied at the wrist and waist. In addition, numerous necklaces, bracelets, and anklets adorn the limbs. Note the distinctive necklace worn by all the ladies in folios 8B,9A and figs.19,22.

The male figures in the Simla manuscript, too, are closely patterned after the figures in the Caurapañcāśikā and the Bhāgavata. The pleading Sugrīva in folio 9A has the same facial features as his compositional counterpart, the pleading Bilhaṇa in the Caurapañcāśikā (fig.5), as well as the two men seated to the right in the Bhāgavata (fig.20). The eye predominates while a round outline helps to define the jaw and in effect lessens the angularity of the face. Even the moustaches are treated similarly with a broad,short upward stroke.

The torso consists of wide shoulders, narrow waist and rounded volumes for the hips and thighs, all of which suggest great strength. The similarity in figure types is even

more striking when we compare the representation of Indra, the many eyed King of the Gods, in folio 18A and in fig.19. Both figures wear the same triple-lobed, winged crown, have facial features composed in the same manner, accentuating the large eye, while a sheer scarf, decorated with a border design, falls from the shoulders of each. We are confronted with an idealized version of divinity, which remains constant through time and despite geographical distances.

The men have costume elements in common as well. The kulā or cap which protrudes from the turban is visible in all three manuscripts. In figs. 5 and 22, the kulā, as is typical in the earlier Caurapañcāśikā styles, is very prominent. In the Bhāgavata (fig.20), its size has been reduced. The kulā is still worn by male figures in the Simla manuscript, folios 4A right and 9A, though further reduced in size.

The male figures in the Simla manuscript are usually dressed in a white dhotī and a transparent top which ties either to the right (folios 3A,4A) or to the left (folios 5A,9A). This is also the costume for most of the men in the Caurapañcāśikā and Bhāgavata (figs.20,22). All three manuscripts use a white sash decorated with horizontal stripes at the ends to add color to the white dhotī (folios 4A,5A, 9A; figs.20,22). Typical of the pre-Akbari period, the sash is tied so that a short loop is formed at the waist (folios 3A,4A; fig.20). The appearance of the four-pointed, chākdār

jama in folio 4A is also a link with the Caurapañcāśikā group (fig.22) and is a feature of costume which disappears after the Akbar period (1605).

It is clear that in the representation of human figures there is a stylistic continuity between the early "Suri" Rágamālā pages through the Caurapañcāśikā and Bhāgavata leaves to the Simla panels. The facial features, torsos, costume, and ornaments all follow the same standards of feminine beauty and manly qualities and show similarities which allow them all to be grouped into one stylistic pattern.

IV

Even to the most casual observer, one of the most attractive elements of the Devīmāhātmya manuscript is its unusual profusion of decoration especially in the elements of nature. Each of the pages has incorporated, usually in the top and bottom horizontal panels, vegetation and geometric motifs which have no relation to the didactic message of the text but are purely for visual enrichment and embellishment. When we look at other manuscripts done in the Caurapañcāśikā[18] style, we do not find this use of adornment to the extent that it is found in the Devīmāhātmya folios. We are forced to look elsewhere to find the sources for these decorative elements of the Simla manuscript.

One of the outstanding aspects of the Devaśānopāḍa Kalpasūtra[19] (fig.25), a feature that distinguishes its

painting from all other Western Indian style painting, is the opulent ornate treatment that is exhibited throughout the manuscript. All available space in the Devaśānopāḍa leaves is filled with floral, vegetative, or animal motifs as secondary compositions intended to augment the more hieratic and didactic primary compositions.[20]

If, as has been suggested, the Devaśānopāḍa leaves were influential in terms of over-all arrangement of the Simla folios, then it is most likely that the attractive decorative character of the Simla manuscript can also be traced to this earlier enterprise. Both have profuse application of plants, vines, birds, and animals, all of which adds to a joyous and less austere presentation of a religious message.

This type of ornamentation seen in the Devaśānopāḍa Kalpasūtra is not restricted to Western Indian style manuscript leaves, but also becomes an important feature of the embellishment of Western Indian manuscript covers. A detail (fig.27) from the inside of a Jain bookcover dating to circa 1525 shows animals placed in the semi-circular areas created by a meandering vine, exactly the treatment which the Simla painter employed in the horizontal panels of the Devī manuscript (folios 6B,15B). In addition to using animals in the vines the Simla artist added flowers and plants to the inhabited vines, increasing further the decorative quality (folios 1B,3A,4A,4B).[21]

The type of vine used on all of the above borders is a split palmette vine. It is probable that in addition to adopting the concept of the inhabited vine, the Simla artist copied the exact form of the vine from a Western Indian style design. In the Vasanta Vilāsa (figs.4,10) a similar vine, though uninhabited, is used as a border decoration. Though the vine in the Vasanta Vilāsa is strongly conceptual in design, and the Simla artist has attempted to make it more naturalistic, the same form is used in both instances with the same decorative intent.

A close look at the vine of the Vasanta Vilāsa (figs. 4,10) shows that the shape of the split leaf is the same simple shape which is used for the vegetative stalk forms in folios 2A left and 15A left of the Simla manuscript. Also, this same form appears again in the Devī manuscript as the motif used for the capitals of the pilasters in folios 2B left, 8A right, 15B left, and 17B left. As we see, the split leaf, a conventional vegetation form used for decoration in the Vasanta Vilāsa, was used for a similar purpose by the Simla artist and also was adopted as an architectural motif for the pavilions.

In discussing the impact of the over-all decorative effect in the Simla manuscript, and the sources which may have contributed to it, mention must be made of the Candāyana painting (fig.24) as a possilbe prototype in addition to the Western Indian style. In the Candāyana leaves all of

the available space has been embellished with various designs. Arabesque clouds fill the sky, gold scroll work is found on the architecture, and floral patterning is scattered on the diverse textiles. Even the flat background space is adorned with a pattern of speckles, usually in gold. All of this profusion of differing types of designs, placed in a uniform manner over the entire surface of the painting, gives the Candāyana leaves a lyrical, decorative sense.

The Simla artist did not specifically adopt any of the individual elements used by the Candāyana painter. We do not find in the Devī folios any appearance of arabesque clouds, or scroll designs either on the architecture or the textiles. Yet the general mood of the Candāyana pages, along with that of the Western Indian tradition, must have acted as a catalyst for the Simla artist in his readiness to adopt decorative elements which he would use in his own undertaking.

In addition to the use of the vine motif, nature elements appear in the Simla folios in other ways and show influences from the Caurapañcāśikā style. Painters in the Caurapañcāśikā style were fond of trees and flowering plants which were incorporated into the body of the painting rather than occupying a marginal position.

Vegetation in the hands of Caurapañcāśikā painters tended to take on standardized and repetitive forms, becoming elements of design, conceived as conventional, stock

types rather than forms closely linked to nature. Banana trees for instance, conform to a standard pattern of symmetry, with an equal number of leaves falling to the left and right, and fruit hanging from the upper part of the trunk (folios 9B,17B; fig.20).[22] The Simla painter attempts to introduce some variety to this pattern in folios 2B, 6A, 9A, 17A, a sign of advanced compositional development. Yet in the Caurapañcāśikā, the Bhāgavata, and the Simla manuscript renditions the leaves are drawn in a flat manner, in geometrically precise outline, against the background, as if they had been cut from a mold and pasted onto the paper.

The neem tree, with its slender trunk and oval crown (folio 13A), was,in addition to the banana, a favorite of the Simla painter. The Devī version is modeled after a similar rendition in figure 19 which, however, shows a bit more spontaneity. The mango tree in the far left of figure 20 has been interpreted in folios 5A,9B and 16A in a pattern close to abstraction.

In the trees from the Caurapañcāśikā, Bhāgavata, and Simla pages the same elements have been used to convey a conceptualized image rather than a naturalistic rendering. The forms are arranged for decorative purposes, and no attempt has been made to depict real trees in a natural setting.

Throughout Western Indian painting[23] and particularly in the Vasanta Vilāsa[24] many types of animals were

frequently depicted. For the most part they are rendered in a highly stylized, yet charming manner.[25] The Simla painter adopted this use of animals and in some cases, especially when attempting to depict felines, followed the stylized models of the Western Indian painters (folios 2A left, 5B right, 10A right, 10B left, 13B right, 15A left). In other cases the Simla painter was able to project the animals, especially horses, in a more naturalistic fashion that that of the Western Indian artists (folios 5A right, 6B right, 9B right, 18B left).

V

The landscape motifs used in the Simla paintings are another element derived from other styles of Indian painting. The Indian painting tradition was more concerned with subjects and narrative than with the depiction of landscape elements, which in most cases were treated rather summarily. Yet in the Devī manuscript the artist has given considerable attention to landscape elements and has treated them in an individualistic manner.

On folios 2A left, 3B right and 15A the action occurs above protruding flame forms, symbolic of a mountain crest. This element is found throughout Jain painting (fig.26), where it is typically treated as a single flame shape surrounded by layer upon layer of the same form, one line echoing the next. In the Simla manuscript the form is a solid

color, outlined in a contrasting color, usually yellow, a distinctly related offshoot of the Jain pattern.

The depiction of fire forms has also been adopted by the Simla artist from the Western Indian source. In both folio 15A right and fig.28 naive stylization has been used to convey the animated flames. There is great similarity in the details of draftsmanship and form: each flame outlined with a black nervous line, ending in a sharp point, veins running down the center of the flames, and a symmetrical pyramidal form.[26]

In fact, close examination of the manner in which the Jain painter rendered flames shows a similarity to the treatment of the bizarre tree-root form in folio 13A right. For both, the fire and the tree-root, the artists have used broad areas of yellow color, lined with veins of black and red, all enclosed in a jagged outline. The only difference is one of scale; the tree-root is proportionally much larger than the tongues of fire. Bizarre compositions and landscapes, though rare in Hindu manuscripts, do occasionally appear in Jain manuscripts (fig.29) and perhaps it was from the Jain source that the Simla artist obtained his conceptual inspiration as well as painterly method for the most imaginative scene on folio 13A right.

In observing the treatment of water in the Simla panels we are given an important clue to help justify a pre-Mughal influenced date for the manuscript. In folios 2B left,

4B right, 5A, 6A left, 7B, 17A right, the water is rendered as a "basket weave" pattern. This is the same treatment which is used in the Caurapañcāśikā[27] and the Bhāgavata (fig. 20) to indicate water. Yet if we look at later Caurapañcāśikā style painting (fig.21) done under the influence of the Mughals, the water is not in the same schematic "basket weave" pattern but is conveyed by swirling lines, indicating a flowing stream. This is exactly the manner in which the Mughals themselves treated water.[28]

A comparison of figure 20 with the border of folio 7B shows a nexus between the Caurapañcāśikā style and the Simla panels. Both alternate open lotus flowers with closed buds, interspersing animal forms, ducks and bees, in a lyrical fashion.

VI

In addition to nature as decoration (section IV), other motifs can also be considered as decorative embellishment. Architectural features provide another connection between the Caurapañcāśikā, Bhāgavata, Candāyana, and Simla manuscripts. In the Simla panels the pavilions are crowned with either a dome (folios 1B,3A,5B,7B) or with a chhatrī, a turret (folios 1B,3A,4B,5A). Both types of crowning elements are also used in the Caurapañcāśikā (fig.5),[29] the Bhāgavata (fig.19), and the Candāyana (fig.24).[30] The domes are usually ornamented with a vegetation design, simulating the

elaborate tiles which were placed on the exterior of actual buildings as embellishment (folio 13B right; fig.19). In a few cases a ribbed dome is preferred (folio 14B;fig.5) perhaps to add variety. This same ribbed dome appears in the Candāyana architecture (fig.24) where it is rendered, however, in a more schematic and decorative fashion.

Elements of the crenelated wall flank both domes and chhatrīs, while in many cases the cornice of the pavilions is also given a patterned design (folio 13B right; fig.19). A comparison of the form of the chhatrīs in folio 13B right and fig.19 shows the same pyramidal structure of the cap placed over a rectangular supporting section. In both, the whole element is crowned by a bulbous shaped finial.

Chevron stripes which are visible on much of the architecture in the Caurapañcāśikā (figs.5,22) also are used for decoration of the architecture in the Bhāgavata (fig.19) and the Simla pages (folios 4A right,14B).

The appearance of related architectural forms in the Caurapañcāśikā, Bhāgavata, Candāyana,and Simla pages is understandable since the visual rendering on paper was in fact, an attempt to portray actual existing structures. Nevertheless, the similarity in the manner in which the specific elements were rendered indicates that there must have been either direct or indirect knowledge of these styles on the part of the Simla painter.

In considering the decorative elements in the Simla

manuscript attention must be paid to the profusion of textiles, rendered in a variety of patterns, which inhabit almost every folio. The most visually striking textile pattern running throughout the Caurapañcāśikā is a checkerboard design (fig.5,22). This distinctive pattern makes its appearance in the Simla manuscript as well (folio 2B right). The concept of covering a stool with an elaborately patterned textile (folios 4B,9A,11B) is seen in the Caurapañcāśikā[31] and also in the Western Indian models (fig.4). The most common pattern used for the fabric of the swagger curtains is that of the "basket weave" design (folio 6B; figs. 5,19) which is found in both the Simla, Caurapañcāśikā, and Bhāgavata pages.

Accessory decorative items are also shared by the Caurapañcāśikā style paintings and the Simla folios. In the Simla manuscript (folios 1B,14A,15B) brass vessels, plates, and pitchers have been placed underneath many of the beds, charpaīs. These decorative items appear in the Caurapañcāśikā (figs.5,22) in exactly the same position. Yak tail pendants and pom-pom tassels are used as decoration on the pavilions in both the Caurapañcāśikā and the Bhāgavata (figs. 5,19), and no doubt these were the sources for its use in the Simla manuscript (folios 7B,12A,14A).

A curious feature which appears on some leaves from both the Caurapañcāśikā (fig.22)[32] and the Simla manuscript (folios 1A,4B,11A,12B,16A) is the random pattern of red dots

or spirals and green slashes or green arches running along the bottom margin. The exact purpose or meaning of these symbols is unclear, and one wonders why it appears on only a few of the leaves and not on all of them. In later works on paper, in preliminary drawings, the artist used the margins to wipe his brush, creating random brush strokes, to be obliterated in the final painting. It is hard to believe that the markings in the Simla and Caurapañcāśikā manuscripts had this root. Yet if the markings were meant to be a decorative margin design why were they not continued around the perimeter of the page and why do they not appear on all pages? The use of this design is also seen on another manuscript from this period in the Caurapañcāśikā style[33] but is not found on the later Caurapañcāśikā style paintings (figs.21,23) done after the influence of the Mughals had been absorbed.

For our purposes however, three manuscripts in the Caurapañcāśikā style did have this unusual form of markings, which show a further connection even though the artist's intent remains hidden from us.

The above evidence points to an intimate knowledge of Western Indian, Caurapañcāśikā, and Candāyana painting on the part of the Simla painter. Even though he did not choose to use the angular Western Indian style for the main visual design of the figures and the compositions, he did

borrow specific elements from that tradition: the over-all organization of the page, the pronounced decorative quality and the appearance of individual motifs from nature such as flowering stalk forms, palmette vines, various plants and animals, as well as fire and mountain forms.

Given the overwhelming number of Jain manuscripts produced in Gujarat and the Delhi-Jaunpur belt before and during the sixteenth century and their dissemination throughout northern India, it is understandable that knowledge of the Western Indian style would be wide spread and available to the Simla painter.

However, in terms of over-all style and specific motifs, the Devī manuscript shows an evolution out of the Caurapañcāśikā tradition. Like the Bhāgavata paintings, the line and coloration in the Simla panels are freer than the Caurapañcāśikā model, showing active brushwork and the use of numerous compositional formats within a limited spatial structure. The similarities are numerous, yet the artist of the Simla manuscript was able to project his own individual interpretation, despite remaining within the Caurapañcāśikā tradition. It can be pointed out that the color patterning, use of nature, especially trees and water, and a characteristic rendering of the facial and body features, particularly those of the female, link the Devī manuscript to the Caurapañcāśikā tradition.

Notes to Chapter IV

1. A. Krishna,"An Early Rāgamālā Series," Ars Orientalis 4 (1961):368-372 and W.N. Brown,"Early Vaishnava Miniature Painting from Western India," Eastern Art 2 (1930): 167-206. There are three leaves from a Rāmayana series in the Gujarat Museum Society, Ahmedabad, done in the Western Indian style, c.1475 (N.C.M.241). Portions of a late fifteenth century Devīmāhātmya manuscript now in the Baroda Museum are reproduced in M.R. Majmudar,"Earliest Devīmāhātmya Miniatures with Special Reference to Shākti Worship in Gujarat," Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art 6 (1938):118-137, and figures 30,31 of this dissertation. Though the subject matter between the Western Indian Devīmāhātmya and the manuscript of this dissertation is identical, there is no stylistic relationship between the two.

2. The style is called Caurapañcāśikā after a manuscript now in the Gujarat Museum Society, Ahmedabad. All of the leaves have been reproduced in L. Shiveshwarkar, The Pictures of the Chaurapañchāśikā, (New Delhi:National Museum, 1967).

3. The following is a list of the manuscripts done in the Caurapañcāśikā style and references to published leaves:

(a) The Āraṇyaka Parvan of the Mahābhārata dated 1516 and painted near Agra, available in Khandalavala and Chandra, Āraṇyaka Parvan;

(b) A Mṛigāvat, available in K.J. Khandalavala, "The Mṛigāvat of Bharat Kala Bhavan," Chhavi, (Benares: Bharat Kala Bhavan,1971):19-36;

(c) The "Suri" Rāgamālā, available in W.N. Brown,"Some Early Rajasthani Rāga Paintings," Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art 16 (1948):1-10;

(d) A Mahāpurāṇa dated 1540 and painted at Palam, available in K.J. Khandalavala and M. Chandra, New Documents of Indian Painting, (Bombay:Prince of Wales Museum,1969), pls.17-19 and figs.141-145,147,148,150, 151,154,155;

(e) The Caurapañcāśikā, available in Shiveshwarkar, Chaurapañchāśikā.

(f) Leaves from a dispursed Bhāgavata Purāṇa series, some reproduced in Khandalavala and Chandra, New Documents, figs.199,200 and figs. 19,20 of this dissertation;

(g) A Laur Chand manuscript split between the Lahore Museum and the Chandigarh Museum, available in Khandalavala and Chandra, New Documents, figs.188-195;
(h) A Gīta Govinda series in the Prince of Wales Museum, available in Khandalavala, "Gita Govinda;"
(i) The "Issarda" Bhāgavata Purāṇa,available in P. Chandra, The Tūtī-Nāma of the Celveland Museum of Art, (Graz, Austria:Akademische Druck,1976),pls.85,86;
(j) An Ahmedabad Bhāgavata Purāṇa, reproduced in R. Parimoo,"A New Set of Early Rajasthani Paintings," Lalit Kala 17 (1974):9-13.

4. See footnote 3 (h) above.

5. See footnote 3 (g) above.

6. See footnote 3 (a) above.

7. See footnote 3 (d) above.

8. The earliest is the dated 1516 Āraṇyaka Parvan (fig. 16) and the basic elements of the style are still practiced in a dated 1605 Rāgamālā series from Chawand (Mewar), in Rajasthan. Fig.23 is a folio from this 1605 set.

9. Other manuscripts in the 1516 to 1540 group are: (a) The Āraṇyaka Parvan dated 1516; (b) The Mrigāvat in the Bharat Kala Bhavan; (c) The Mahāpurāṇa dated 1540.

10. For a discussion of this Bhāgavata Purāṇa and a list of some published pages see P. Chandra, Tūtī-Nāma, p.39, footnote 28.

11. The other manuscripts which fall into the 1540-60 group are the following: (a) The Laur Chand in the Lahore and Chandigarh Museums; (b) The Gīta Govinda in the Prince of Wales Museum.

12. The term Candāyana is taken from a manuscript of which the bulk is in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Leaves are reproduced in K.J.Khandalavala and M. Chandra, "Three New Documents of Indian Painting," Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India 7 (1959-62):23-34. There is another manuscript of the Candāyana in the Rylands Library, Manchester which is similar in style. Examples from the Rylands pages are in Khandalavala and Chandra, New Documents, figs.176,177.

13. W.N. Brown, The Story of Kālaka,(Washington,D.C: Smithsonian,1933) and W.N.Brown, Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpasūtra,(Washington, D.C:Smithsonian,1934).

14. W.N. Brown, "A Jaina Manuscript from Gujarat Illustrated in Early Western Indian and Persian Styles," Ars Islamica 4 (1937):154-173, and Khandalavala and Chandra, New Documents, pp.29-40.

15. Khandalavala and Chandra, New Documents, p.30.

16. P. Chandra, Tūṭī-Nāma, facsimile.

17. R. Skelton, Rājāsthanī Temple Hangings of the Krisna Cult, (New York:American Federation of the Arts,1973).

18. See footnote 3 for references.

19. Brown, Ars Islamica for illustrations of this Kalpasutra and Khandalavala and Chandra, New Documents, pp.29-40.

20. Khandalavala and Chandra, New Documents,color plates 5-7 and figures 45-96.

21. Vines inhabited with flowers and buds can also be seen on folios 2B,5A,6A,7A,8A,8B,9B,10A,10B,11A,12B,14B,15A, 16A,17B.

22. Shiveshwarkar, Chaurapañchāśikā, pl.4.

23. Brown, Kalpasūtra, figs.18,19,21,22,23,30,37, and 65.

24. Brown, Vasanta Vilāsa, figs.25-27,37,39,44,and 55.

25. Brown, Vasanta Vilāsa, fig.26 is a landscape illustration filled with romping deer, rabbits,and a feline.

26. A close variant of the Western Indian method of fire representation can be seen in pl. 7 of Khandalavala and Chandra, Āraṇyaka Parvan. It is clear that this rendition of 1516 shows a less dramatic interpretation than the Western Indian example. No doubt, by the time of the Devī manuscript this kind of general rendering was the accepted, stock method of depicting fire. Nevertheless, it's ultimate source is the Western Indian example.

27. Shiveshwarkar, Chaurapañchāśikā, pls.3,4.

28. P. Chandra, Tūṭī-Nāma, pl.1.

29. Shiveshwarkar, Chaurapañchāśikā, pl.3.

30. Khandalavala and Chandra,"Three New Documents," color frontispiece and fig.24.

31. Shiveshwarkar, Chaurapañchāśikā, pls.5,17.

32. Shiveshwarkar, Chaurapañchāśikā, pls.2,3,5-12,14-18 all have these same markings.

33. Khandalavala,"Gīta Govinda," pls.A,B, and plate 1, fig.1.

V. PROVENANCE AND DATING OF THE SIMLA *DEVĪMĀHĀTMYA* MANUSCRIPT

The last two lines of the text of folio 18B contain a colophon which gives a date and a place where the manuscript was written. The following are two readings, both the transliteration and translation of that colophon:[1]

> dṛvdhaṃ yad ṛṣi mārkaṇḍeyena Sudhiyā Śrī Devī-saṃtuṣṭaye māhatmyaṃ vyalikhat Sudhī sumanesa saṃsmṛtya rāmaṃ hṛdi śāke tvaṣṭa-guṇa-rasendu tulite māse tapaśye śubhe sukṣetre jayasiṃha-devanagare śrī Bhvāniśarmādrutam // Pūrṇimāṃ jīve samāptaṃ.
>
> In the Śāka year 1361 (tvaṣṭa-guṇa-rasendu), over the course of the month Phālguna in the auspicious and beautiful city of King Jaya Siṃha, Śrī Bhvāniśarmā, with good and wise mind remembering Rama in [his] heart, quickly copied [this] hymn of praise [which was] composed by the wise sage Mārkaṇḍeya for the satisfaction of the Goddess. It was finished on the full-moon day of Thursday.
>
> dṛvdhaṃ yad ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeyena sudhiyā śrī devi-saṃtuṣṭaye māhātmyaṃ vyalikhat sudhī sumanasā samsmṛtya Rāmam hṛdi Śāke tv aṣṭa-guṇe raś-endu tulite māse Tapaśye śubhe sukṣetre Jayasiṃhadeva nagare śrī Bhvānisarmādrutam// Pūrṇṇimām Jīve samāptaṃ.

> In the Śāka year 8361, counted by aṣṭa-guṇa rasa indu, in the holy month of Phālguna, in the beautiful city of Jayasiṃhadeva, the wise Śrī Bhavāni Śarmā having recollected Rāma in [his] heart with well disposition, quickly copied [this] hymn of praise [which was] composed by the wise sage Mārkaṇḍeya for the satisfaction of the Goddess. [It was] finished on the full-moon day of Thursday.[2]

The date is not given directly in numerals, but in the form of a chronogram. The chronogram employs four words: tvaṣṭa (tv aṣṭa), guṇa, rasa, and indu. Each of these words represents a numeral. Tvaṣṭa means the sun which represents one. Aṣṭa represents the number 8 in the numerical system. Guṇa signifies the three elements of matter, (tāmas, rājas, and sattva), three. Rasa encompases the six tastes (sweet, salty, sour, pungent, bitter, and astringent), six. And indu, the moon, once again one. These are standardized numeric equivelents of the words which can be found in a dictionary. This conversion of words to numerals gives us either 1361 or 8361 depending on the reading of the letters t v a ṣ ṭ a.

Indian chronograms are not read forward however, but backward, giving us either 1631 or 1638. Of course these are not dates based on the Christian era, but on one of the Indian eras used for dating.

The word śāke appears before tvaṣṭa (tv aṣṭa) in the chronogram. Śāke can denote either the generic term "year" or may refer to a specific era begun by King Kanishka in 78 A.D.[3] If we take the word to refer to the śāka era begun

by King Kanishka, then we must add 78 (the Christian year in which the era begins) to 1631 (1638) giving us a date of either 1709 or 1716 A.D. From the extensive stylistic comparisons discussed in chapter four it is clear that these dates are much too late for a proper stylistic relationship. Based on this stylistic evidence, the Devī illustrations belong in the sixteenth century, not in the beginning of the eighteenth.

When the term śāke is taken in its generic sense, denoting "year" we are free to use any of the Indian eras to determine our date. Realistically, once we have eliminated the śāka era, the choice is limited to the Vikram Saṃvat era. There are several reasons for the decision. Most important, none of the other eras used in Indian dating would result in a date which could possibly be relevant, e.g. fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, and which would be used in the Punjab Hills.[4] The saṃvat era was the prevailing one used for dating during the medieval period in the hills. In addition, and of course very importantly, stylistic analysis justifies a date derived through the use of the saṃvat era.

The saṃvat era begins in 57 B.C. In order to transpose either of the colophon dates to our calendar we must subtract 57 from either 1631 or 1638, giving us 1574 or 1581 A.D. as the latest dates. This places the Devī manuscript in a period just shortly after 1560, which is the terminus

date for the comparative material used in chapter four in the discussion of stylistic analysis. Both the Caurapañcāśikā (figs.5,22) and the Bhāgavata (figs.19,20) fall into a time slot from 1540 to 1560. Beginning in 1570 we find evidence of Mughal painting appearing in Caurapañcāśikā style paintings (fig.21), which were probably produced somewhere in the Delhi-Jaunpur geographical belt, a center of cultural and artistic activity in northern India.

The Devī manuscript does not exhibit any influence from Mughal painting, as was illustrated in chapter four; rather it is closely linked to both the fifteenth and sixteenth century manuscript traditions, especially that of the Western Indian and Caurapañcāśikā. Though in the plains we find Mughal elements being incorporated into Caurapañcāśikā style painting beginning around 1570 (fig.21), it is understandable that the Devī manuscript, done later, in the hills, would be uneffected by Mughal stylistic motifs. This stylistic time lag is inherent in exporting a style from a central area of activity, such as the plains, to a remote location such as the hills.

The place mentioned in the colophon is Jayasimhadevanagare (Jayasinghdevanagare), the holy city of Jai Singh. There are many cities in India named after rājās with the name of Jai Singh, the most famous being Jaipur in Rajasthan founded in 1728 by Mahārājā Jai Singh II. Another city,

Jaisinghnagar, is in Madhya Pradesh near Bhopal and was founded in 1670.[5] But it is significant that on the upper side of the Beas river (fig.32), near Lambagraon, is the ancient town of Jaisinghpur, the city of Rājā Jai Singh.

There is very good evidence to assume that this Jaisinghpur in Kangra is the city of Jai Singh (Jayasinghdevanagare) that is mentioned in the colophon. It was founded in the early part of the thirteenth century by Rājā Jayasiṃha Chandra of Kangra,[6] one of the most powerful forces in the hills. This city was therefore in existence in the sixteenth century when the manuscript was written. It remained an important residence of the Kangra rulers into the nineteenth century at which time it was visited by Moorecroft in his travels throughout the hills.[7] The state of Kangra had always been the principal state in the Pahari region,[8] though at times its outer boundaries were governed not by members of the ruling clan but by petty chieftans.[9] Because of the immense size of the area and the numerous members of the ruling house, various residences were established throughout the territory. Jaisinghpur was the primary residence for the eastern portion of the state, while Nāgarkot (fig.32) farther to the west and more strategically located for defense purposes was always considered the main residence, or capital.

The Devī manuscript was found in October, 1977, at the home of a brahmin family living in the town of Bijapur,

three miles from ancient Jaisinghpur (fig.32).[10] Thus not only is there a hill town (Jaisinghpur) related to that mentioned in the colophon (Jayasinghdevanagare), but the manuscript was found only three miles from this Jaisinghpur of the hills. The brahmin family stated that the manuscript had been in their possession for generations. It is conceivable that at some time after it was produced the manuscript fell into brahmin hands for safekeeping or for some religious reason, and remained in the family until the present day.

In the last part of the colophon the name "śrī bhavāni śarmā" is mentioned. The word "śrī" is an honorific and the suffix "śarmā" denotes that the man, Bhavāni, was a member of the brahmin, or priestly caste. The wording of this part of the colophon is brief and unclear and unfortunately, although we know that he was the scribe of the manuscript, we do not know if he was the priest who commissioned it, and perhaps he may even have been the painter of the illuminations as well.

The verb "likhat" is used for both writing and painting, making a distinction between the two difficult. Yet, there is no reason to exclude the possibility of the priest's involvement on a number of levels, since we have no evidence or indication that a complex artistic school or structure existed which would account for a division of talents. Rather, it is safe to assume the existence of a very small

and somewhat provincial structure, employing a limited number of artisans. In fact we do have an example of a Nepalese tanka in which a certain brahmin named Tejarāma Soma-śarman both commissioned and painted the tanka himself.[11] There is no reason that this same situation could not exist in the Pahari region.

The evidence presented by the manuscript itself shows that the entire text portion of the eighteen leaves was written by one hand. The script is rather unrefined, and is uniform throughout. In our careful analysis of the paintings, they too are similar in line, coloration and figure type, suggesting that they also were completed by one hand. Whether the person who did the writing is the same as that responsible for the painting is impossible to conclude at this point. We are not given enough textual or stylistic information to allow us to reach a conclusion on that matter.

One textual clue that may ultimately prove to be of some value is that the word "bhavāni" is directly related to the goddess, to the Devī. It is the name used for a specific aspect of the goddess, Parvatī, who is Śiva's wife. That this brahmin associated with the Simla Devīmāhātmya manuscript carried the name of Bhavāni is perhaps an indication that he was a member of the śākta sect. The Devīmāhātmya is one of the most important, if not the most important text for this sect. It contains all of the major tenents of the sect and is especially auspicious. As such it is

recited on all occasions in which the power of the goddess is invoked. We find therefore a correlation between the manuscript glorifying the goddess and the name of the religious personage mentioned in the colophon, who may have been the painter or patron, in addition to being the scribe.

One fact presented in the colophon is puzzling however. The brahmin, though carrying a name of the goddess, and composing a hymn to her praise, invokes the name of Rāma, one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu. He thus must have been a devotee of Rāma as well. It is not uncommon for worship of a number of deities to occur within a particular area. For instance in Chamba, the earliest temples are devoted to the Devī,[12] while the largest and most celebrated is a temple to Viṣṇu, the Lakṣmī-Narayan.[13]

Though we are fortunate in having a colophon at the end of the text which establishes a provenance and a date for the manuscript, there are several additional elements which coroborate this factual material. In chapter four we examined the stylistic associations which justify a sixteenth century date for the manuscript. Yet there are elements in the illustrations of the manuscript which will also help to justify a hill origin for the manuscript.

Of all the religious cults existing in the hills, that of the Devī is by far the most ancient and the most popular. Whether she be worshipped alone or with a consort, her forms

appear everywhere: in temples, in homes, and as the object of countless festivals and celebrations. Thus the subject of the manuscript itself, glorification of the goddess, is appropriate for the hills.

The antiquity of hill worhsip of the goddess is emphasized by the fact that the two oldest temples in the hills, Lakṣaṇa Devī and Śākti Devī, near Chamba, both dating to the mid-seventh century, are dedicated to the Devī. And it is of note that the main image in the Lakṣaṇa Devī temple is a stunning bronze of Durgā killing the buffalo demon,[14] precisely the incident which climaxes the Devīmāhātmya text.

In Kangra state too the connection with the Devī is as close as that in Chamba. The royal line of Kangra rulers traces its descent from the Devī herself. It is said that the first Rājā, Bhum Chand, was not of human origin, but sprang from the perspiration from the goddess' brow at Nāgarkot.[15] Archer points out that the Rajputs of Kangra to this day "consider themselves children of the Devī."[16] He goes on to state that though there was no official religion in Kangra, there is a definite bias toward the Devī and Śiva, except during the reign of Sansar Chand (1775-1823) when worship of Kriṣna became popular.

Two of the holiest sites in the hill states are to be found within the boundaries of Kangra province. One is located in the vicinity of Kangra city proper and is dedicated to Māhāmata, the great mother. This site attracts countless

pilgrims annually, especially during the Navarata fairs held in March-April and September-October. Local legend maintains that 360 Devīs assembled together at the founding of this temple, making it particularly sacred. The main image is a brass female head, while beneath it a marble slab receives the oaths of the devotees. The exact date of the construction of the temple is unknown but it was mentioned in the Muslim account of Muhamud of Ghazni's invasion in 1009.[17]

Even more popular, in fact the most popular pilgrim site in the entire Himachal Pradesh state, is the temple of Jawālāmukhī, located in the Beas valley, about a mile from Jaisinghpur. The temple is built over some natural jets of combustable gas, and as a result the temple has been dedicated to the goddess of the flaming mouth. There is no central image since the flaming mouth is believed to be the manifestation of the goddess.

Not only do we find in the hills particularly devout attention to the goddess, over and above Śiva and Viṣṇu, who were later imports to the region, but in Kangra particularly, there are close connections with the Devī, both in terms of the lineage of the rulers, and in the establishment of two especially sacred sites devoted to unusual aspects of the goddess.

Further association of the manuscript with the hills is

provided by a comparison of some of the paintings with certain sculptural types which are known to originate in the hills.

The first comparison is one that has already been discussed in some detail but needs to be reemphasized at this point. The opening page (folio 1A left) contains an image of Mahābhairavī. This type of iconographic representation is exclusive to the hills and is commonly found in bronze sculpture (fig.1) from the Himachal Pradesh region. Recently three sculptures of this exact type have been published[18] and, since all three are relatively small, the largest being only 14½ inches high, it is safe to assume that Mahābhairavī was a popular household shrine and many images must have existed.

Like the painting on folio 1A, the sculpture in fig.1 once had two donor figures at the base but they are now lost. Two of the arms of the Pan Asian bronze (fig.1) are missing, but otherwise the attributes held by the two Mahābhairavīs are identical except that the painted figure holds a bell in one of the left hands while the bronze holds a manuscript in that same hand. The Pan Asian bronze may have held a snake and a staff crowned with a skull, as in the painting, but since the attributes are now lost we can only assume that they were similar to the painting. There is a close dependency in most other aspects of the two images. Both are ten-armed, with four heads facing the cardinal directions; in

the painting the rear head is not depicted but is an essential part of the iconography and is meant to be understood. Each possesses a fifth head which is ugra, ferocious, and has been placed on top. A four-armed Śiva, consort of Māhābhairavī, supports the goddess and gazes at her adoringly.

As was pointed out earlier, the painter of the Devī manuscript must have been familiar with the iconography of Māhābhairavī and with its appearance in bronze sculptures from the local region. When called upon, for whatever reasons, to include a representation of Māhābhairavī in the Simla manuscript, he merely translated the three-dimensional object into a two-dimensional one. The presence of the donors in the panel (folio 1A) suggests that Māhābhairavī may have been the patron goddess to whom the manuscript was dedicated.

Regardless of the intent for the inclusion of the Māhābhairavī image, it is clear that the painting is derived from bronze sculpture of Māhābhairavī. It sould be emphasized that no Māhābhairavī image of this type has been found in any area other than Himachal Pradesh.

Other painting panels from the Devī manuscript too, show connections with sculptures of the hills, which were no doubt prototypes, either directly or indirectly, for the paintings. Folio 2A left illustrates the destruction of the buffalo demon, Mahisha, by the goddess, while gandharvas play triumphal music and shower her with flowers. A bronze

of the same subject from the Himachal Pradesh region, now in the National Museum (fig.33), dating to about the thirteenth century, is remarkably close in both composition and in iconographic details.

In both the bronze and the painting the goddess is balanced with one foot on her mount, while the other rests on the demon, who is emerging from his buffalo shape as a man. The severed buffalo head lies at her feet, near the feline mount. Both goddesses are eight-armed, carrying a sword, shield, elephant goad, and a cobra which is wrapped around the demon's neck. The sculpture has lost the trident, which the goddess would have held in her two principle hands, and which she would have plunged into the chest of the demon to destroy him. The only difference in attributes is that the goddess in bronze holds a battle axe and conch while the painted figure carries a bow and arrow. The similarity between the figures extends to certain costume elements as well. The crowns worn by both figures are triple-lobed with round discs at each point. At the base of the crown is a scarf which flares out in the shape of wings. A distinct type of necklace which falls between the breasts is evident on the bronze, while the painted goddess wears the same necklace, but her hands obscure a clear view. Both goddesses wear dhotīs to cover their lower torsos, with a flaring flap appearing between the legs.

In addition to these sculptural forms from the hills

which relate to the Devī panels, there are other hill elements of iconography peculiar to the hills which can be found in the illustrations of the Devī manuscript. Such an image is that of devotees wearing conical caps, the topī. We see two such devotees in the Simla manuscript (folio 7B right), bare to the waist, wearing beads around their necks, and sporting these conical caps. These caps are a token of the spiritual authority of the holy men, or mahānts, who wear them. Their importance is indicated by the fact that an investiture ceremony is not complete until the topī has been placed on the aspirants head.

The topī is a significant part of the wearing apparel of the Śivaite holy men from the Jakbar establishment[19] and also of the Viṣṇuite inhabitants of Pindori.[20] These two major religious āshrams of the hills were given initial grants of land by Akbar in 1571 and 1572 respectively, very close to the date (either 1574 or 1581) in the colophon of the Devī manuscript.

It is significant that the source of this item of costume was less than thirty miles from Jaisinghpur, the placename which corresponds to the Jayasinghdevanagare in the colophon. Jakbar is located very near Pathankot, while Pindori is a bit to the south, closer to the Beas river. Both are technically within the Gurdaspur district in the state of the Punjab.[21] It is most likely that the Simla painter's use of the topī was inspired by the actual experience of

seeing these caps on wandering mahānts.

From their beginning in the late sixteenth century these establishments, Jakbar and Pindori, went on to become politically and spiritually powerful, exercising their influence well into the present day. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we have numerous portraits of mahānts (fig.34),[22] yet all of them are from Pahari miniatures. In fig.34 from Nurpur we see two of these mahānts, Bhagwanji and Gosainji, seated in a pose almost identical to that of the Simla pair on folio 7B.

The unusual feature of these conical caps worn by the mahānts appears to be ultimately derived from a costume feature known in the hill area as early as the sixth or seventh century. A purusha attendant to Viṣṇu (fig.35) from Kashmir wears a cap which appears as a prominent part of his costume. Jakbar and Pindori, located in the extreme northern corner of the Punjab state are bordered on the north by the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Given the enormous output of portable Kashmiri bronzes it is not at all surprising to find Kashmiri-type elements in much Himachal Pradesh sculpture.[23]

If we examine the cap of the purusha (fig.35) with that of the mahānts (fig.34) the similarities are marked: it is ribbed, has an extra cloth which flares out from behind, and has a small knot at the top. It appears from all present evidence that this headgear is peculiar to the hill area,

and based on fig.35 it must have been rooted in religious tradition.

One last feature secures a Pahari claim for this manuscript. The main body of text on each leaf is in Devanāgari, a script that was used not only in the hills but also throughout northern India. But the reverse side of each folio (folio 1B etc.) has been given a page number in Takrī, a script that is exclusive to the hill region. In the upper margin, just above the main rectangle of text (folio 1B) is the addition in Takrī of the word pattr meaning page, and then the number 1.

Up to this point we have been examining material which supports and justifies a sixteenth century date and a Pahari location for the Simla Devīmāhātmya manuscript. To support our claim we have looked at material which pre-dates the manuscript. Yet, it must be pointed out that some elements in the Simla Devī manuscript have also influenced later Pahari painting and thus the manuscript may have been a prototype for seventeenth and eighteenth century painting from the hills.

In fig.36, an eighteenth century painting from Mandi state a priest sits before a shrine, with his hand in a bag, saying his beads, and performing pūjā to the shrine. He wears śākta tilak marks on his forehead, while he sits upon

a leopard skin. An inscription in Takri[24] on the reverse of the picture identifies the priest as a worshipper of Śākti, the Devī, and Śiva. This duality of concept is visually represented by the shrine which he worships. At the base, facing in opposite directions are a tiger, the mount of the goddess, and a bull, the mount of Siva. These two animals support the main features of the shrine, a vulva shaped yoni, symbol of the goddess, and a phallic shaped linga, symbol of Śiva.

In folio 3A right we find the same scene, the same symbolism. The Simla priest sits in yogic posture, with beads around his neck, and his hand in a bag, reciting his rosary. In front of him are a waterpot and a shrine adorned with flowers. Close examination of the shrine reveals that it is in fact a linga, symbol of Śiva, supported by a feline, symbol of the goddess. From the close visual relationship of the Mandi painting (fig.36) to that of folio 3A right, it appears that the Devī panel served as a prototype.

Along these same lines, a folio from a Bhāgavata Purāṇa done at Mankot in the early eighteenth century (fig.37) shows a remarkable similarity in its use of musicians and cowherds to folio 2A left of the Devī manuscript. Other examples of later Pahari painting from Mankot, Basohli, and Kulu[25] show a similar treatment, with the use of musicians playing horns in celebration and gopās, wearing short skirts or shorts and pointed caps. The use of a single color,

applied in a flat manner, to indicate the figures, as seen in folio 2A, is also found in the later painting (fig.37). In addition, the skirts and the hats are patterned with a lively and bright combination of colors, to contrast with both the flat figure and background. Since the later pictures (fig.37) are done more than one hundred years after the Devī manuscript, we would expect to see a more advanced development of the figure such as does occur. Nevertheless, the over-all similarities are evident.

From the analysis presented there is sufficient evidence to support a sixteenth century date and a Pahari claim for the origin of the Simla Devīmāhātmya manuscript. Not only is there textual material, contained in a colophon, which mentions a date and a place of production, but also the use of Takrī script, a script exclusive to the hill area, helps to solidify the claim. In addition there are visual elements, sculpture and the unique appearance of the mahānts, which indicates that the manuscript could only have been produced in the hills. A significant element is the fact that the manuscript was found in the hills, adjacent to a town (Jaisinghpur) which correlates to the place of production mentioned in the colophon (Jayasinghdevanagare). Of course, an underlying argument for a hill origin is the subject of the manuscript itself, the glorification of the goddess, who, as we have seen, holds a special position of

reverence in the hill area, especially in Kangra.

The combination of these factors, textual and visual, results in an irrefutable conclusion that the manuscript was produced at the place, Jaisinghpur, and at the latest 1581, but perhaps even earlier, in 1574, specified in the colophon.

Notes to Chapter V

1. The first transliteration and translation were done by Mr. Jerry Losty of the British Library, and the second pair were done by Dr. G. Bhattacharya of Berlin. In addition, both Dr. P.Pal and Mr. Gautam Vajracharya were helpful in providing discussion relating to the colophon and confirmed certain questionable points.

2. Note that in line three of each transliteration the word "tvasta" has been treated differently. Mr. Losty treats the word as tvaṣṭa and translates it as one, while Dr. Bhattacharya sees it as tv aṣṭa and translates it as eight. Outside of this change, the two versions show little departure from one another and basically convey the same message.

3. On page 286 of the Indian Epigraphical Glossary, (New Delhi:Motilal Banarsidass,1966), D.C. Sircar defines śāka as follows: "Used in the sense of'a year' or 'an era' cf. vikram-śāka." Thus according to him, the term śāka is interchangable in its definition and its application. This information was brought to my attention by Gautam Vajracharya.

4. Ancient Indian eras are numerous. No one era however, prevailed all over India at any period. More than a score of eras are known and the more important, in addition to the Saṃvat and Śāke are the Lichchavi, dating from 111 A.D., the Kalachuri, dating from 248 A.D., and the Gupta dating from 319 A.D. If we were to use any of these eras for the Simla manuscript we would end up with dates in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. All too late for any correlation with the stylistic evidence of the manuscript paintings.

5. This information was supplied to me in written correspondence with J. Losty, dated June 2, 1978. He obtained it from the Sagor District Gazetter.

6. J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, History of the Panjab Hill States, (Lahore:Government Printing,1933),p.125.

7. W. Moorecroft and G. Trebeck, Travels in Hinduistan, vol. 1,(1841; reprint ed.New Delhi:Sagar Publications,1971), p.148.

8. W.G. Archer, Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills, vol. 1, (London:Sotheby Parke Bernet,1973),p.259.

9. Hutchison and Vogel, History of the Panjab Hills, p.99.

10. Bijapur is just a small village which is part of the commercial area served by Baijnath.

11. See P.Pal, Nepal:Where the Gods are Young, (New York:Asia House,1975), fig.80. There is further discussion of this point in Pal, Arts of Nepal: Painting (forthcoming) which establishes that there is a precedent, at least in the Himalayan area, for a single individual completing the entire project himself.

12. H. Goetz, Early Wooden Temples of Chamba,(Leiden, Holland:Brill,1955), pp.72-100.

13. Archer, Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills, vol. 1,p.64.

14. Goetz, Chamba Temples, pl.VI.

15. Hutchison and Vogel, History of the Panjab Hills, p.111.

16. Archer, Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills, vol. 1,p.245.

17. M.Q. Firishta, Ta'rikh-i-Firishta:History of the Rise of the Muhammaden Power in India, trans. by J.Briggs (London:Luzac,1827),p.134.

18. Sharma, Iconography of Sadāśiva, pl. XXXIV and pl. XXXV; Pal, Kashmir, pl.89. In fact, Dr. Pal, p.228, ascribes one of the bronzes to the Kangra valley.

19. B.N. Goswamy and J.S. Grewal, The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakbar,(Simla, India:Indian Institute of Advanced Study,1967), p.15.

20. B.N. Goswamy and J.S. Grewal, The Mughal and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori,(Simla,India: Indian Institute of Advanced Studies,1969), p.6.

21. Goswamy and Grewal, Jakhbar, p.1 and Pindori, p.2.

22. Archer, Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills, vol. 2, pp.302, #2; 311, #20; 312, #21; V.C. Ohri, Arts of Himachal,(Simla, India:Himachal State Museum,1975), p.172;

K.J.Khandalavala, Pahari Miniature Painting,(Bombay:New Book Company,1958),fig.27.

23. Pal, Kashmir,pp.214,218.

24. "śrī devī va śiva jannisar," devoted to devī and śiva.

25. Archer, Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills, vol. 2, p.241; W.G. Archer, Visions of Courtly India,(Washington D.C.:International Exhibitions Foundation,1976), fig. 48; Khandalavala, Pahari Miniature Painting, plate M, p.227.

VI. CONCLUSION

The impact and importance of the Simla Devīmāhātmya manuscript become more understandable through a brief review of art historical writing on Pahari painting and through a general view of the state of that painting in the Pahari area as it was known before the discovery of this manuscript.

Literature on Pahari painting began to appear as early as the late nineteenth century.[1] It was only in the twentieth century, however, that the subject of hill painting received popular attention. Beginning around 1909 and continuing to the present, a steady stream of literature has been forthcoming introducing new pictures,[2] reassessing past knowledge under the light of new discoveries,[3] providing an encyclopedic survey of the various styles and schools,[4] or treating particular themes of Indian literature expressed through Pahari painting.[5]

A.K. Coomaraswamy was the first art historian to attempt a coherent system of grouping Pahari paintings.[6] In 1914 he began to group the paintings into styles based on their visual similarities, claiming that there were essentially two main groups, one called the "Jammu" type and

the other known as the "Kangra" type. In Coomaraswamy's pioneer work, Rajput Painting,[7] he further labeled these divisions as a "northern" group and a "southern" group, using the Ravi river as the dividing boundary between the two. Coomaraswamy continued to maintain his two-fold theory in his later writings,[8] basing it on the assumption that Jammu was the wealthiest of the Dogra hill states north (actually west) of the Ravi and Kangra held a similar position of importance among the states in the area south (actually east) of the Ravi. Coomaraswamy held that Jammu type painting began in the seventeenth century[9] while Kangra paintings emerged in the eighteenth century.

In discussing the history of painting in Garhwal, one of the states which Coomaraswamy included in the Kangra group, he points out that two Hindu painters trained at the Mughal court, Śyām Dās and Hari Dàs, had accompanied Sulaiman Shukoh, grandson of Shah Jahan, to Garhwal around 1660.[10] He implies that these painters founded painting in the state of Garhwal sometime after that date. It is of note that Mola Ram, Hari Dās' great grandson, became one of the most prominent Garhwal painters in the eighteenth century.[11]

During the same period that Coomaraswamy was writing, other scholars of Indian art introduced new information. In 1909 M. Lal had established the court of Garhwal as a center of painting and had attributed certain paintings to Mola

Ram.[12] J.P. Vogel[13] confirmed the school of Chamba painting in his catalogue of the ancestral collection of Rājā Bhuri Singh, Rājā of Chamba. S.N. Gupta[14] expanded on Coomaraswamy's theory of two general styles and firmly maintained that Basohli was an area which produced paintings. He based his belief on the fact that specific paintings brought to him were said to be from Basohli proper and to be part of the Basohli Rāj collection.[15] Further to this development, in 1929, A. Ghose[16] concluded that Basohli was the preeminent center of painting in the Western Hill states and not Jammu as suggested by Coomaraswamy.

Shortly thereafter, in 1931, J.C. French[17] established Kulu as a center of painting and also made a pioneering attempt to distinguish painting in the state of Guler from that done in neighboring Kangra. He affirmed that Guler painting preceeded Kangra painting and was a direct offshoot of seventeenth century Mughal painting. He restated Coomaraswamy's belief that this Mughalizing effect on Guler painting was due to the migration of Hindu painters to the hill states, such as Guler, as a result of the Emperor Aurangzeb's lack of patronage.

The years from the late nineteenth century through 1935 constitute the first period of active publishing and writing on the subject of painting in the Pahari area. By the end of that period the scholarly community, generally thought that painting from the hills had emerged in the second half

of the seventeenth century and was divided into two broad categories based on visual characteristics, one called Jammu, the other Kangra. As part of these broad categories a few individual geographical states had been singled out as centers of painting and areas where patronage existed. These were Garhwal, Chamba, Basohli, Kulu, and Guler.

The introduction of painting was attributed to the migration of Mughal artists from the Imperial court to other areas of India where employment was more secure. This concept of the Mughal prototype for hill painting was doggedly promoted despite the lack of Mughal elements in paintings assigned to the areas of Basohli and Kulu.

These positions were maintained until the decade of the fifties, when again another burst of writings reassessed known material, provided commentary on recent discoveries, and introduced a few new theories on additional schools of painting.

A. Ghose in 1958[18] for the first time identified a series of pictures from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa as products of Mankot painters. Later the Mankot provenance of these pictures was confirmed, and they were found to come from the Mankot Rāj collection.[19]

M.S. Randhawa, one of the major writers devoted to Pahari painting during the fifties and sixties, began a series of publications devoted to a particular school[20] and/

or to a particular literary theme.[21] In one publication he attempted to isolate Basohli painting from other styles which seemed visually similar,[22] and suggested that the origins of Basohli painting were not derived from Mughal influence. He envisaged pre-existing folk-art styles. Under the stimulus of painters from the Mughal court, these folk styles developed in a style unrelated to the Mughal style, but were, nevertheless, done in a courtly manner. Perhaps Randhawa's greatest contribution however, was to publish a series of works concerned with painting in Kangra state.[23] French and Vogel[24] had done some preliminary work defining a chronology for Kangra painting, especially during the reign of Sansar Chand (1775-1823), but Randhawa traveled extensively in the Kangra area, viewing ancestral collections, and his writing reflect the new material discovered. He records his interviews with the descendants of Kangra artists[25] and points out the similarities between the scenery of the Kangra paintings and the actual geography of the Beas Valley of Kangra state.

The first comprehensive attempt to cover the entire scope of painting in the Pahari area was attempted by K. Khandalavala in the late fifties.[26] He succeeded in isolating a new style, which he ascribed to Mandi, and he elaborated on French's attempt[27] to isolate the Kulu style. In his survey, he identified paintings from Kahlur (Bilaspur) and noted several individual stylistic variations.

The sixties saw the introduction of a number of new scholars, V.C. Ohri,[28] B.N. Goswamy,[29] S.C. Welch,[30] and M.C. Beach.[31] The second half of the fifties and the decade of the sixties was the most prolific period for the major scholar on Pahari painting, W.G. Archer.[32] New scholarly gains were made during the sixties in a number of new directions. During this period certain specific paintings were assigned to individual artists. Rather than the general categories of geographical schools, new emphasis was placed on individual styles, such as that of the Nainsukh family of painters.[33]

Instead of classifying styles by geographical areas, B.N.Goswamy argued that the stylistic classifications should be based on families of artists,[34] who may have moved from state to state, carrying their style with them.

During this decade paintings are more precisely dated, and such imprecise designations as "second half of the eighteenth century" are no longer tolerated. Many portraits are now published,[35] and inscriptional evidence contained on the portraits provides secure documentation regarding chronology and individual artists.

The most comprehensive and organized treatment of hill painting during the latest period was done by W.G. Archer. Through a series of exhibition catalogues[36] and articles,[37] he solidified earlier writings on the subject. With his magnum opus[38] in 1973, each school is treated in terms of

geography, history, and genealogy of its rulers. The stylistic chronology of each school is developed through illustrations of paintings. This major work is only the second attempt made, Khandalavala's in 1958 being the first, to give an over-all survey of painting in the hills.

The present state of knowledge in the field of Pahari painting generally follows the conclusions outlined by Archer in 1973.[39] Prevailing opinion holds that hill painting began sometime after the middle of the seventeenth century. Archer has ascribed paintings from Basohli and Mankot (west of the Ravi) and Baghal (Arki), Chamba, Guler, Kahlur (Bilaspur), Kulu, and Nurpur (east of the Ravi) to the second half of the seventeenth century.

The late introduction of painting into the hills has been justified on various grounds. The first is the lack of patronage at the Mughal court during the second half of the seventeenth century and the migration of artists to outlying areas where they could secure employment. Another factor was the appearance of many hill rulers in the service of the Mughal army during this period, which would have brought them into areas where painting was being produced. This may have stimulated the Rajput rulers of the hills to set up painting schools of their own in emulation of the Mughals and other Rajputs. A third possibility is the annual pilgrimages to sacred spots, such as Hardwar, located in the plains, or to places even further south, providing another

avenue for exposure to artistic productions.

The type of painting which developed in the hills as a result of this exposure falls into two distinct types: one is very close to the Mughal prototype, while the other shows no marked characteristics associating it with Mughal painting. The first style, practiced in Baghal, Chamba, Guler, and Kahlur, tended to employ a muted palette of browns, mauve, pale orange, pink, grey, and soft green. The colors were combined in a complementary fashion to produce a tonal harmony, rather than in a dramatic juxtaposition (fig.38). Portraits attempted to record reality in an accurate manner. The figures and facial features are modeled with soft contouring lines, which adhere closely to realistic proportions.

The second style, found in Basohli, Kulu, Mankot and to some extent in Nurpur, is markedly un-Mughal and can be described as wild, bizarre, or provincial in quality (fig. 39). This contrasts with the first style which has a degree of elegance and sophistication. The palette of the second style is composed of primary colors, such as yellow, red, blue, green, and white used in almost a pure, undiluted state. These colors are combined in a manner which does not attempt to record reality, but rather is meant to produce an emotional and dramatic visual impression. Blocks of color give an over-all geometrical patterning to the compositions.[40]

In keeping with this more bizarre style, the figure type is conceptual and idealized rather than being based on realistic representation. The line used to define the figure is quite angular and contorted (fig.39) instead of being the soft rounded line of the Mughal influenced type of figure (fig.38).

In terms of technique and subject matter, both of these types of paintings are highly sophisticated. The combination of colors, regardless of the tonal quality, muted or bizarre, shows competence beyond the experimental stage. The variety of colors (figs.38,39) is an indication alone of the more mature understanding of color principles. This becomes very clear when we compare the abundance of colors used in these seventeenth century paintings (figs.38,39) with the limited palette used in paintings done during the sixteenth century in northern India (figs.6,9,13,14,22), an experimental period for Rajput painting.

The work of all of these art historians, be they pioneers in the field or recent scholars, has led to a generally accepted point of view regarding the development of painting in the Pahari area. Briefly stated, it is currently believed that no painting existed in the hills prior to the arrival, sometime in the mid-seventeenth century, of Mughal influence. This influence, it is felt, was an essential link in establishing the preliminary framework for

painting in a number of states in the hills, resulting in the relatively large body of work done in the second half of the seventeenth century in some Pahari states.

It is further believed that these paintings can be categorized into two distinct groups, based on visual characteristics. One is very close to the Mughal prototype, using the same canons of proportion, coloring,and compositional elements. The other is a departure from the inspiration of Mughal painting, employing a stronger tonal pattern, unusual canons of proportion, and a more simplified compositional arrangement.

Though this theory is generally held by modern scholars, there is an underlying thought, defying explanation, that some part is missing in this development of the origins of Pahari painting.

First, it has been difficult to understand the highly sophisticated and technically polished nature of paintings which have been assigned to the second half of the seventeenth century and termed "early hill painting." These examples (figs.38,39) are not the immature, rudimentary, or naive attempts which are usually associated with experimental or beginning stages of an artistic process. They are not a folk style or a primitive attempt in any way. Yet, if in keeping with the established theory, they are the earliest attempts at painting in the hills, then should they not be expected to exhibit some of the qualities associated

with an art form newly developing?

Some art historians would have us believe that this painting in the hills of the second half of the seventeenth century is not a newly developing art form. They say instead, it was an already highly developed form transported by skilled Mughal painters. Yet this new style is considerably different from Mughal painting. Even those pictures which patently demonstrate their Mughal heritage (fig.38) also contain elements, swarthy figure types, heightened palette, not found in Mughal painting. If we are to accept a farfetched concept that a change in environment produced a change in style so that painting by the Mughals and their students (if any) resulted in an instantaneous change in style, then this would only account for the Mughalized painting in such states as Baghal, Chamba, Guler, and Kahlur.

But then we are faced with the overwhelming enigma of the second type of painting found in Basohli, Kulu, Mankot, and Nurpur. How could this strongly non-Mughal painting, more or less contemporary with the paintings done in the first style, have had its genesis in the advent of Mughal painters.

Strangely, very few scholars seem to have been aware of these inconsistencies. The first hint at the possibility of an older painting tradition was expressed by K. Goswamy in 1968.[41] More recently, another art historian has also raised the issue.[42]

The discovery of the Simla Devimahatmya manuscript provides new evidence to support a hypothesis which could modify the old theory which has been held for almost three quarters of a century. This hypothesis can be sustained by logic and by emperical examination of the paintings.

Having the Devī manuscript, we now know that there was painting in the hill area prior to the arrival of the Mughal artists. This type of painting is remarkably close in style to painting coming from a wide geographical area of northern India during the sixteenth century (see chapter four). This early hill painting in the Devī manuscript (folios 1A through 18B) shows the same limited palette, naive figure type, simplified compositional structure, and experimental tone that is exhibited by sixteenth century paintings (figs. 5,6,9,13,14,19,22) produced in northern India.

We can hypothesize that when the migration of Mughal artists did occur in the seventeenth century, these artists undoubtly drew upon native talent existing in the hills, just as one hundred years before, the Persian painters brought to India by the Mughals drew upon native painters of northern India to create the Mughal style.

The presence of native painting in the hills also offers a hypothesis for the existence of the second type of painting done in Basohli, Kulu, Mankot, and Nurpur, which was largely uneffected by the Mughals. This style appears to be an amplification and evolution of the early native

work seen in the Devīmāhātmya manuscript. In painting from these states[43] we have essentially the same palette, though highly intensified, that is found in the Devī manuscript (folios 9A,15B), while the monochrome background used for both types of paintings is another related element (folio 9A; fig.39). Certain motifs, such as the abstracted form of a tree (folio 5A) are to be found in the seventeenth century examples.[44] Even in the figure types there is a relationship. In the Devī figures (folio 4A) the prominent facial element is the enlarged eye. So too in the seventeenth century (fig.39).

This hypothesis would account for the sophistication and polish which is seen in the paintings of the second half of the seventeenth century, which represent a maturation of almost one hundred years of painting. Viewing the seventeenth century paintings from this perspective, it is understandable why they are of such high technical quality.

The Devīmāhātmya manuscript provides us with the first examples of sixteenth century painting found in the hills, and the earliest painting discovered to date, to have been produced in the Pahari area. It does pose a problem however in the sense that there still remains a long gap between the date of the Devī manuscript and mid-seventeenth century Pahari painting.

Now that the chronology has been broadened by almost

one hundred years, pictures can be reexamined in this new light. Many paintings which have been assigned a later date because it was thought that there was no late sixteenth or early seventeenth century painting, may now have to be reassigned and given a much earlier place in the history of Pahari painting.

We can also hope for new discoveries which will predate the Simla manuscript and perhaps these future discoveries may push back the history of Pahari painting to much earlier times.

Notes to Chapter VI

1. The following are the most informative of the nineteenth century contributions: (a) Moorecroft and Trebeck, Travels in Hindustan; (b) G.T. Vigne, Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardoo, the countries adjoining the mountain-course of the Indus and the Himalaya, North of the Panjab,(London: Luzac,1842); B.H. Baden Powell, Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab,(Lahore:Government Printing, 1872); K.E.von Ujfalvy, Aus dem Estlichen Himalaja,(Leipzig, 1884).

2. J.P. Vogel, Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba, (Calcutta:Baptist Mission,1909); A.K. Coomaraswamy, Rajput Painting, (Oxford:University Press,1916); A.K. Coomaraswamy, Catalogue of the Indian collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston;Part V, Rajput Painting,(Boston: Museum of Fine Arts,1926); I. Stchoukine, La Pienture Indienne,(Paris:Librarie Ernst Leroux,1929); O.C.Gangoly, Masterpieces of Rajput Painting,(Calcutta:1926); S.C.Welch and M.C.Beach, Gods, Thrones and Peacocks,(New York: Asia House,1965); S.N. Gupta, Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore, (Calcutta,1922).

3. A. Ghose,"The Basohli School of Rajput Painting, Rupam 37 (1929):6-17; W.G.Archer, Indian Painting,(London: Studio Press,1956); K.J.Khandalavala and M. Chandra,"The Rasamanjari in Basohli Painting," Lalit Kala 3/4 (1956): 26-38; J.C. French, Himalayan Art, (Oxford:University Press, 1931).

4. Gangoly, Masterpieces; Khandalavala, Pahari Miniature Painting; Archer, Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills.

5. M.S.Randhawa, The Krishna Legend in Pahari Painting, (New Delhi:1956); O.C. Gangoly, "A set of Ramayana illustrations of the Pahari School," Bulletin, Baroda Museum 9 (1952-1953):25-29; W.G. Archer, The Loves of Krishna,(London: George,Allen and Unwin,1957); M.S. Randhawa, Kangra Rāgamālā Paintings, (New Delhi: National Museum,1971).

6. A.K.Coomaraswamy, Indian Drawings,(London,1910); A. K.Coomaraswamy, "The Eight Nāyikās," Journal of Indian Art and Industry 16 (1914):99-116.

7. Coomaraswamy, Rajput Painting.

8. Coomaraswamy, Catalogue of Museum of Fine Arts, Part V: Rajput Painting; A.K. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, (London:Hiersmann,1927).

9. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian Art, p.130.

10. Coomaraswamy, Catalogue of Museum of Fine Arts, Part V: Rajput Painting, p.17.

11. Archer, Indian Painting from the Punjab Hills, vol. 1, p.118.

12. M. Lal, "Longing for the Beloved," The Modern Review 4 (1909, Calcutta):403-404.

13. Vogel, Catalogue of Bhuri Singh Museum.

14. S.N. Gupta, "The Making of the Moghul School of Painting," The Modern Review 21 (1921, Calcutta):478.

15. Archer, Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills, vol. 1, p.22.

16. Ghose, "The Basohli School of Rajput Painting."

17. French, Himalayan Art, pp.15,23-27.

18. A. Ghose, "Pahari Schools of Indian Painting," Roopa Lekha 28 (1958):39-40.

19. Archer, Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills, vol. 1, p.376.

20. M.S. Randhawa, Basohli Painting, (New Delhi:Government of India,1959) and M.S. Randhawa, Kangra Valley Painting, (New Delhi:Government of India,1954).

21. Randhawa, Krishna Legend; M.S. Randhawa, Kangra Paintings of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, (New Delhi:Government Publications,1960); M.S. Randhawa, Kangra Paintings of the Gīta Govinda, (New Delhi:Government Publications,1963).

22. Randhawa, Basohli Painting.

23. Randhawa, Kangra Valley Painting;Kangra Painting of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa; Kangra Painting of the Gīta Govinda; M.S. Randhawa, "Kangra Rāgamālā Paintings," Roopa Lekha 29 (1958):4-28.

24. J.C. French,"Sansar Chand of Kangra," Indian Art and Letters 21 (1947):89-91.

25. M.S. Randhawa, "Kangra Valley School of Painting," Arts and Letters 28 (1954):1-9.

26. Khandalavala, Pahari Miniature Painting.

27. French, Himalayan Art.

28. V.C. Ohri, "Four Important Inscriptions on Pahari Paintings," Lalit Kala 11 (1962):58-60; V.C. Ohri,"The Origins of Pahari Paintings," Roopa Lekha 38 (1969):109-119.

29. B.N. Goswamy, Lalit Kala Portfolio Series No.6: Six Kangra Paintings,(New Delhi:Lalit Kala,1968); B.N. Goswamy, "Painting in Chamba: A Study of New Documents," The Asian Review 2 (1965):53-61.

30. Welch and Beach, Gods,Thrones and Peacocks.

31. Welch and Beach, Gods,Thrones and Peacocks; M.C. Beach,"A Bhāgavata Purāṇa from the Punjab Hills," Bulletin Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 63, no.333 (1965):168-177.

32. Archer, Indian Painting;Archer, The Loves of Krisna; W.G. Archer, Paintings of the Sikhs,(London:Her Majesty's Stationery Office,1966); Archer, Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills.

33. Goswamy, "Painting in Chamba."

34. B.N. Goswamy, "Pahari Painting: The Family as the Basis of Style," Marg 21, no.4 (1968):17-62.

35. Ohri,"Four Important Inscriptions;" Khandalavala, Pahari Miniature Paintings, figs. 61,67,88,91.

36. W.G. Archer and E. Binney, Rajput Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binney,3rd,(Portland,Oregon: Portland Museum of Art,1968); Archer, Visions of Courtly India.

37. W.G. Archer,"Some Nurpur Paintings," Marg 8, no.3 (1955):16; W.G. Archer, "The Problems of Painting in the Punjab Hills," Marg 10, no.2 (1957):30-36.

38. Archer, Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills.

39. Archer, Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills, pp.xvii-xxxiii.

40. Randhawa, Basohli Painting.

41. K. Goswamy, Vaishnavism in the Punjab Hills and Pahari Painting,(Doctoral Thesis, Punjab University, Chandigarh,1968).

42. Pal, The Arts of Nepal:Painting, clearly states this problem. Dr. Pal also brought this subject into a discussion at a symposium held at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in September, 1977 on the subject of Pahari painting. An interesting related example is that of Persian painting where no known examples exist earlier than 1258,the date that Hulagu Khan of the Mongols sacked Baghdad. The earliest paintings after this date (see B.Gray, Persian Painting, New York:Skira, 1961,pp.20-21) show great skill and development. In this instance however, art historians have no doubt about a body of earlier work because of painting examples in pottery and other media. Further, they have a ready justification for the lack of extant material because of the havoc wrought by the destructive Mongols. Still, the example has bearing on our case in that it is hard to believe that a sophisticated form of painting could exist without precedents.

43. Randhawa, Basohli Painting, pls.3,7,16,26.

44. Archer, Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills, vol. 2, p.23, fig.4 (xiv).

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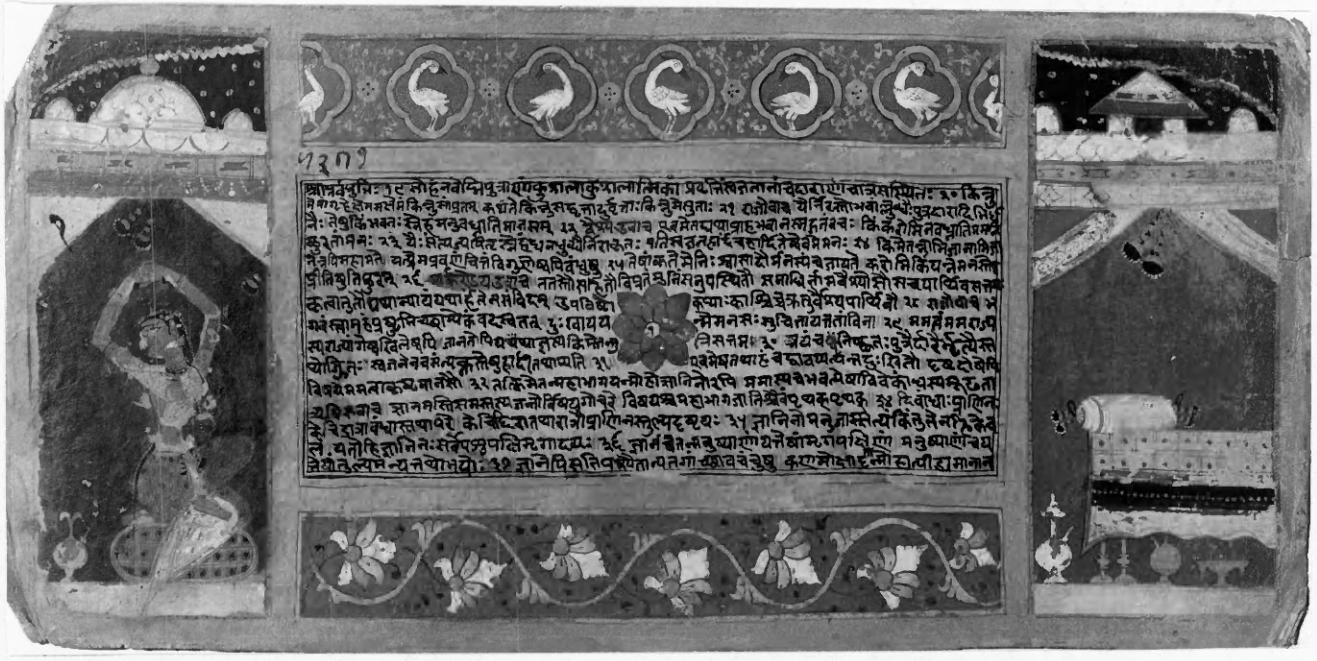
Folio 1A



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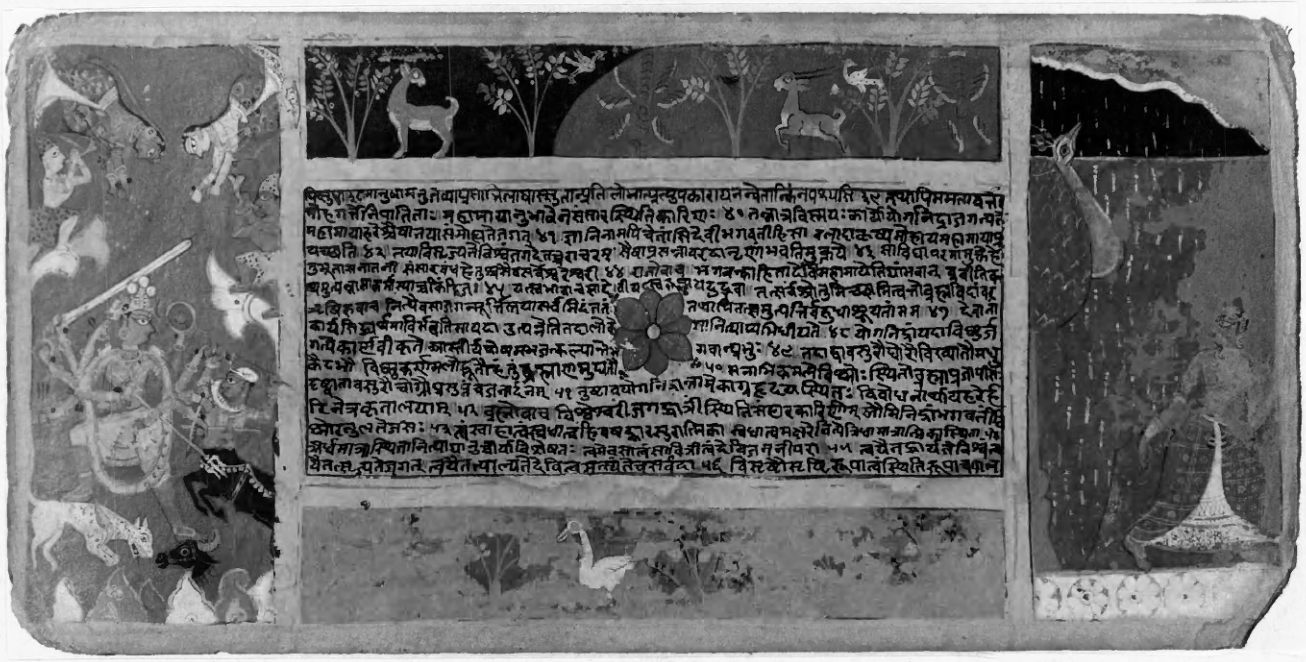

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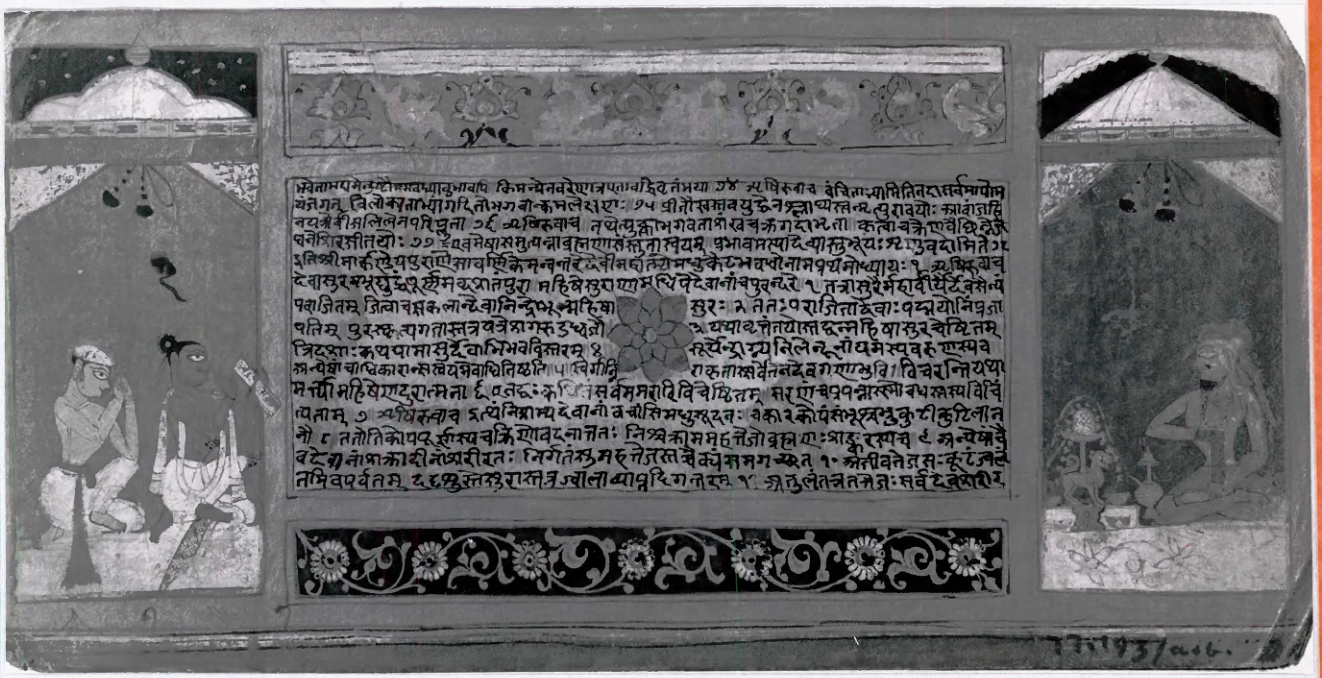
Folio 2B



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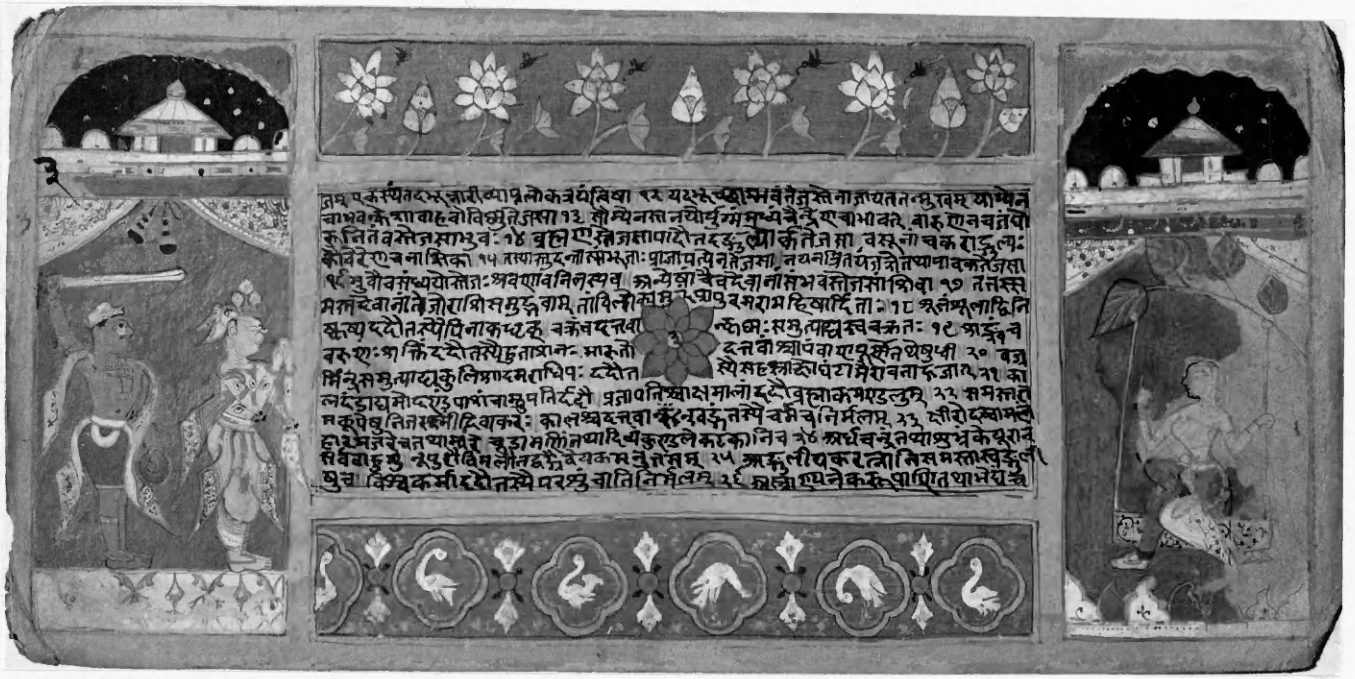
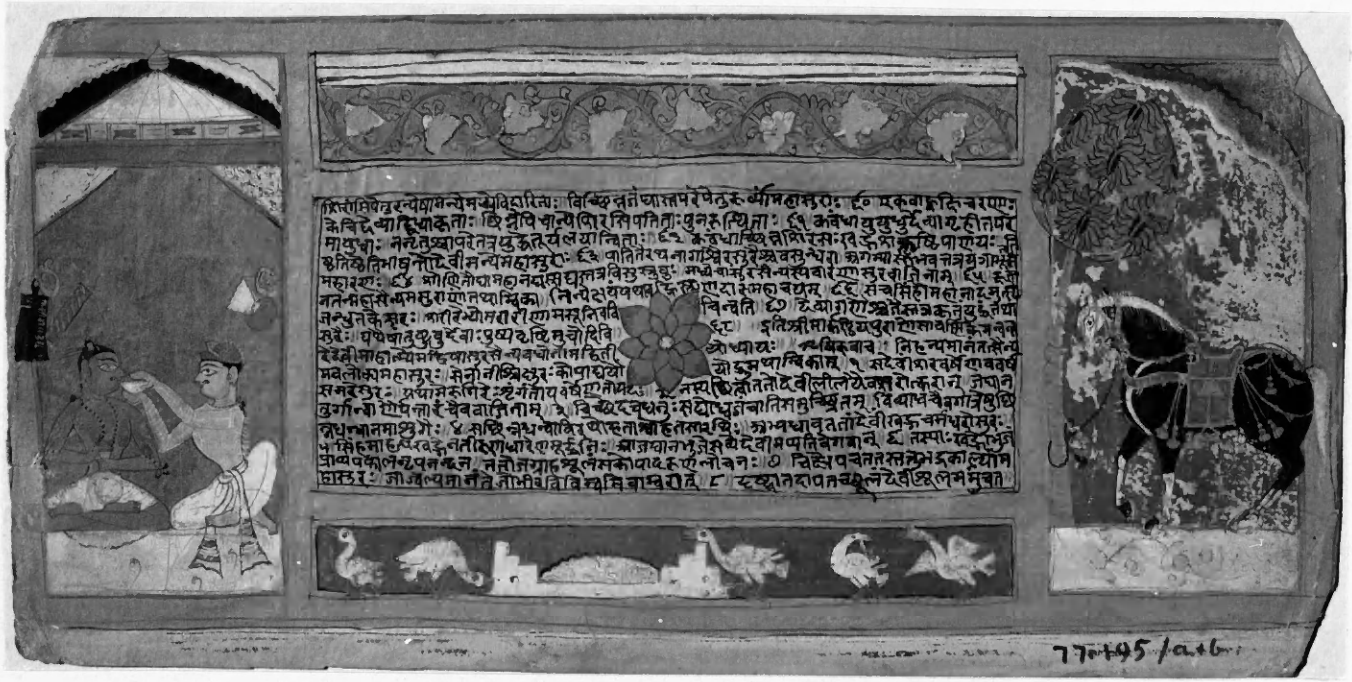


Folio 3B

Folio 4A

Folio 4B



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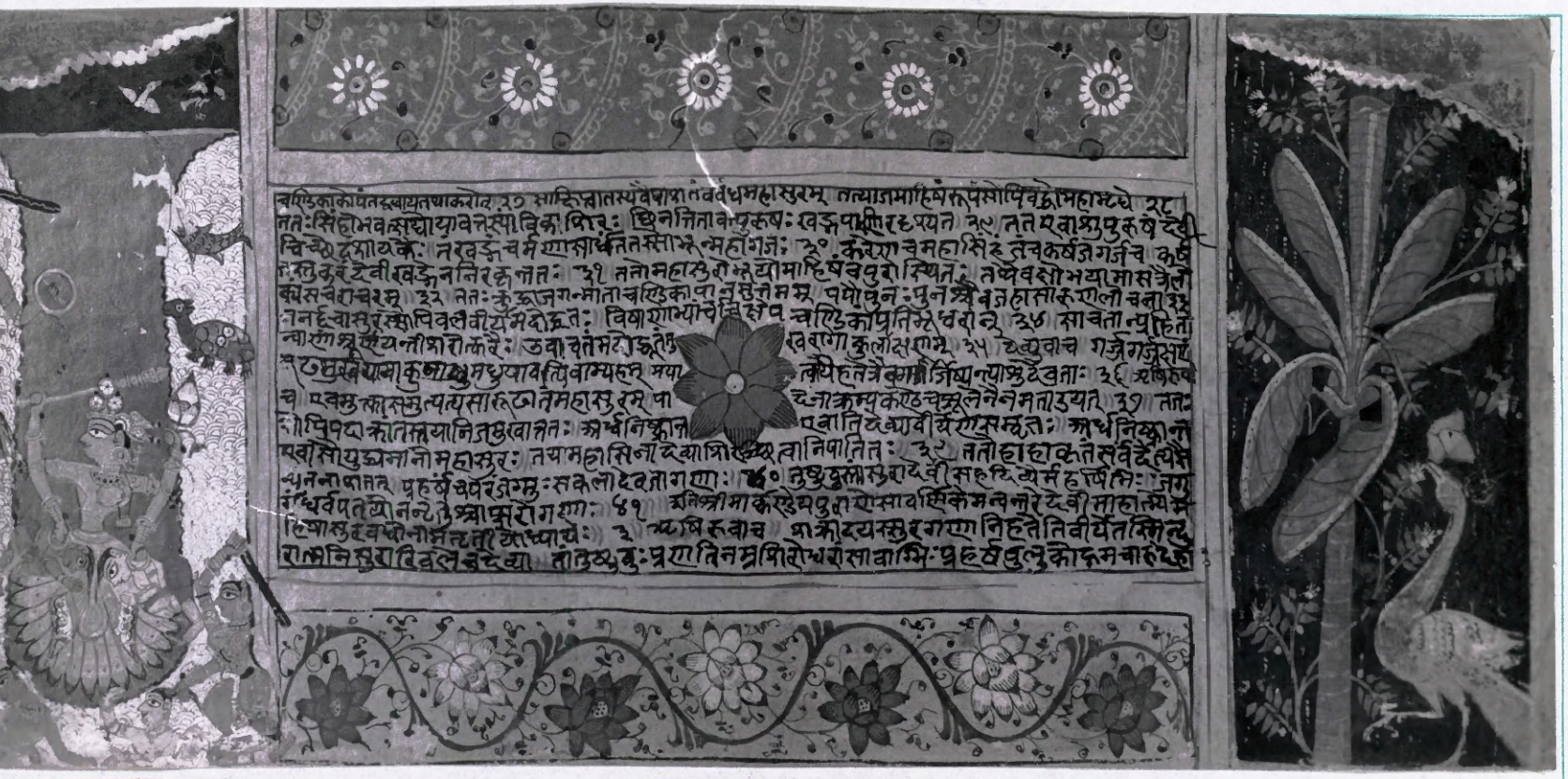
Folio 5B



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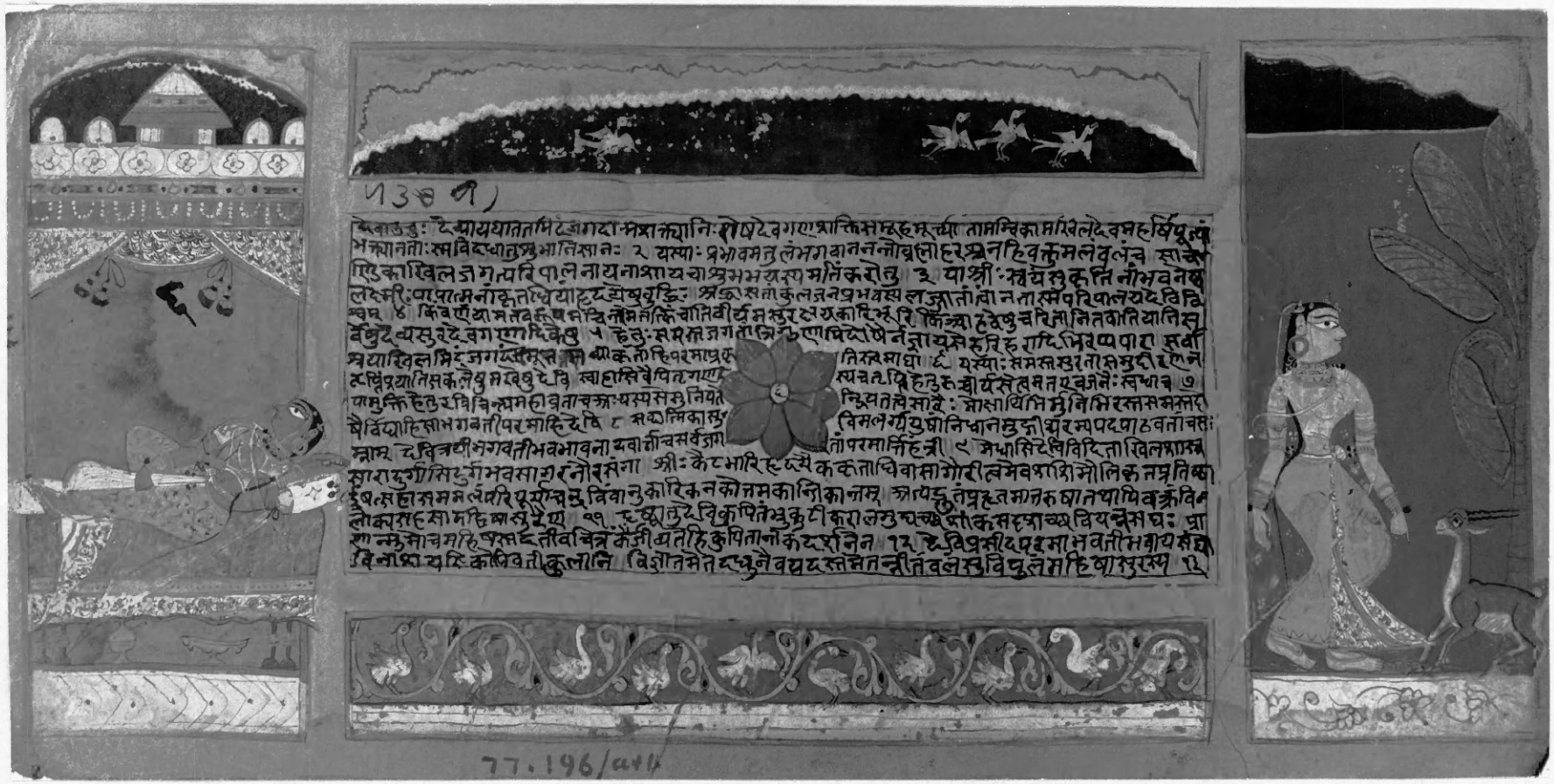
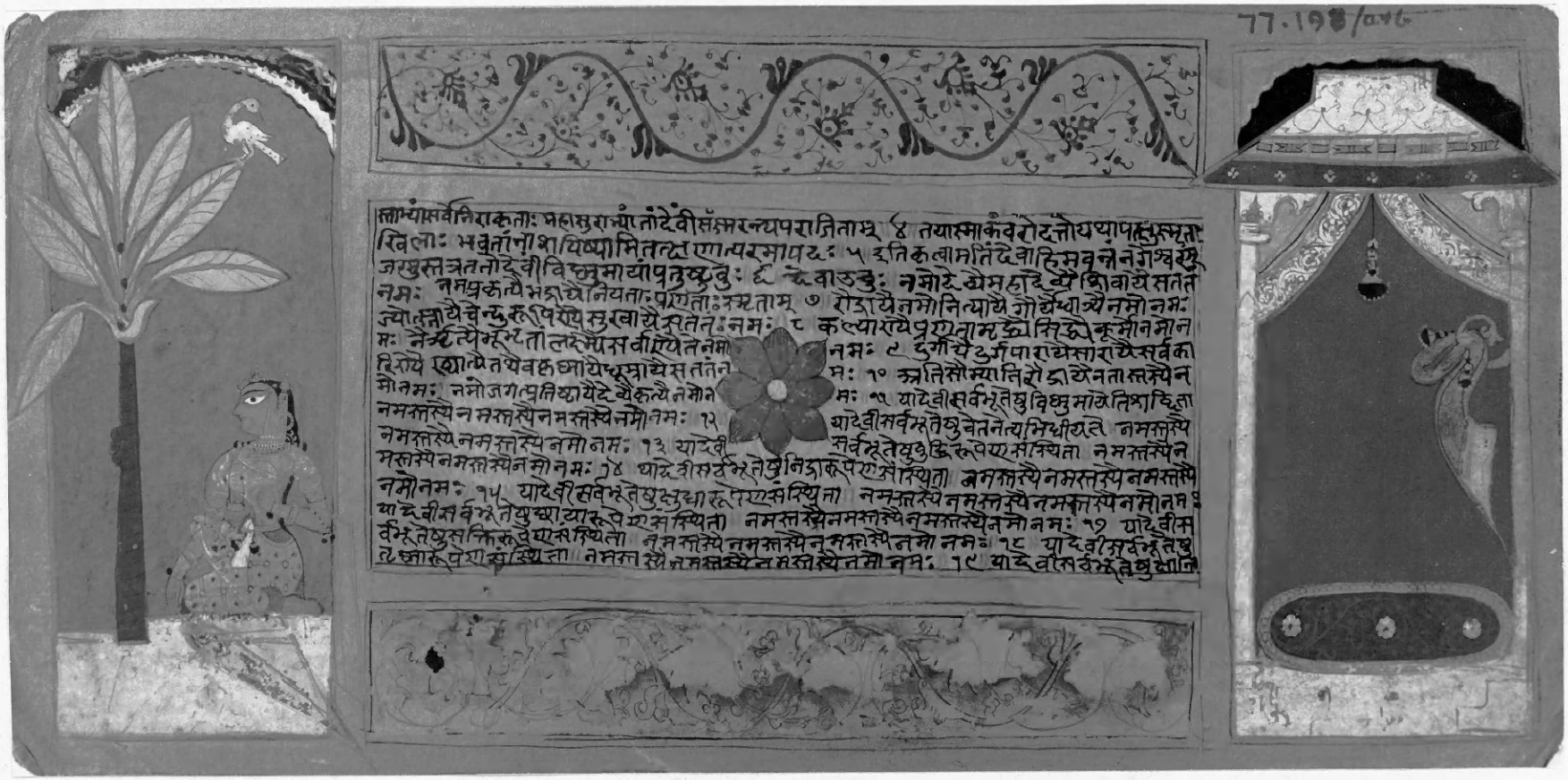


Folio 6B

Folio 7A

Folio 7B



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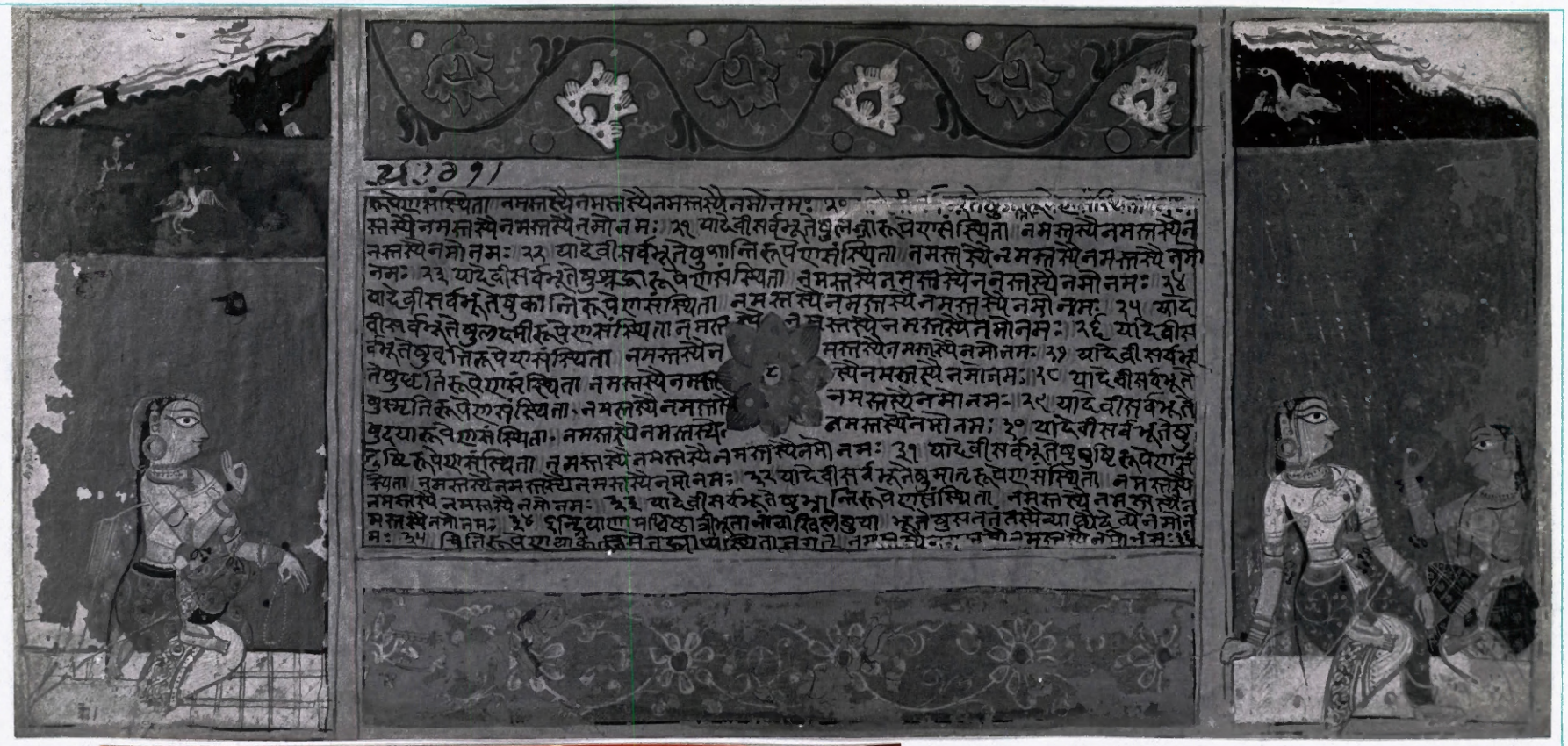


Folio 8B

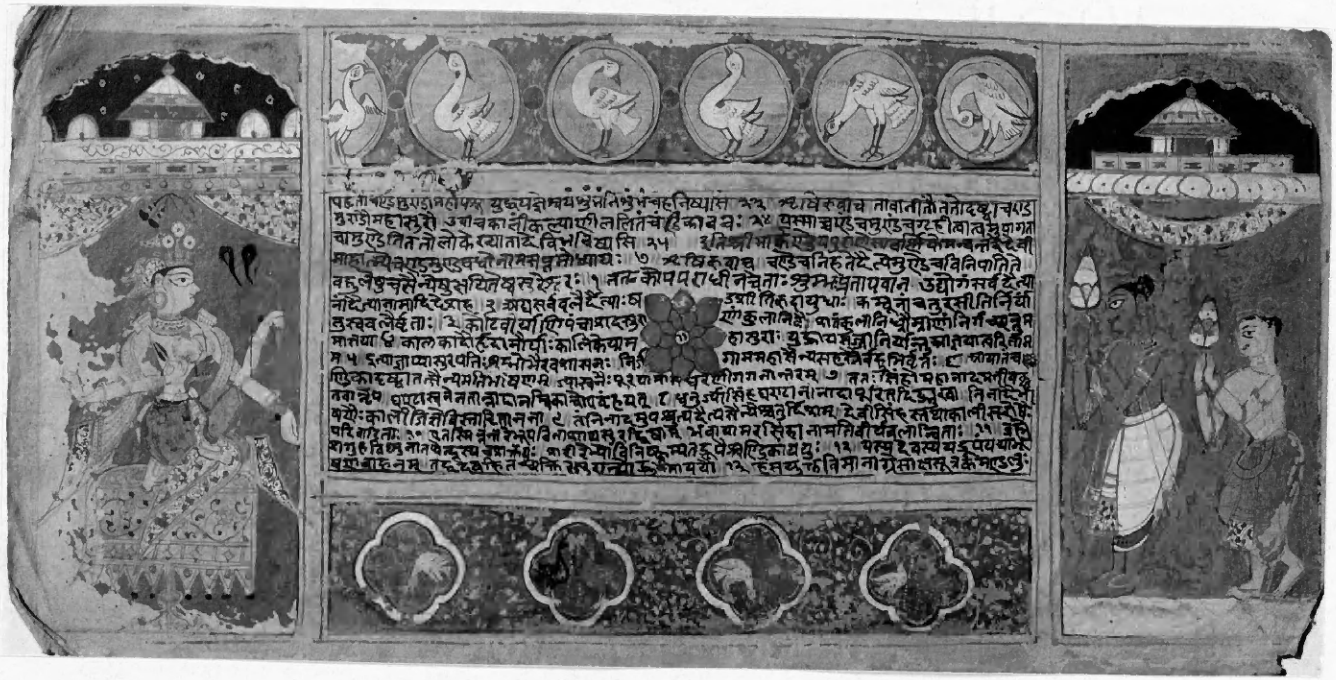
Folio 9A

Folio 9B

Folio 10A

Folio 10B

Folio 11A



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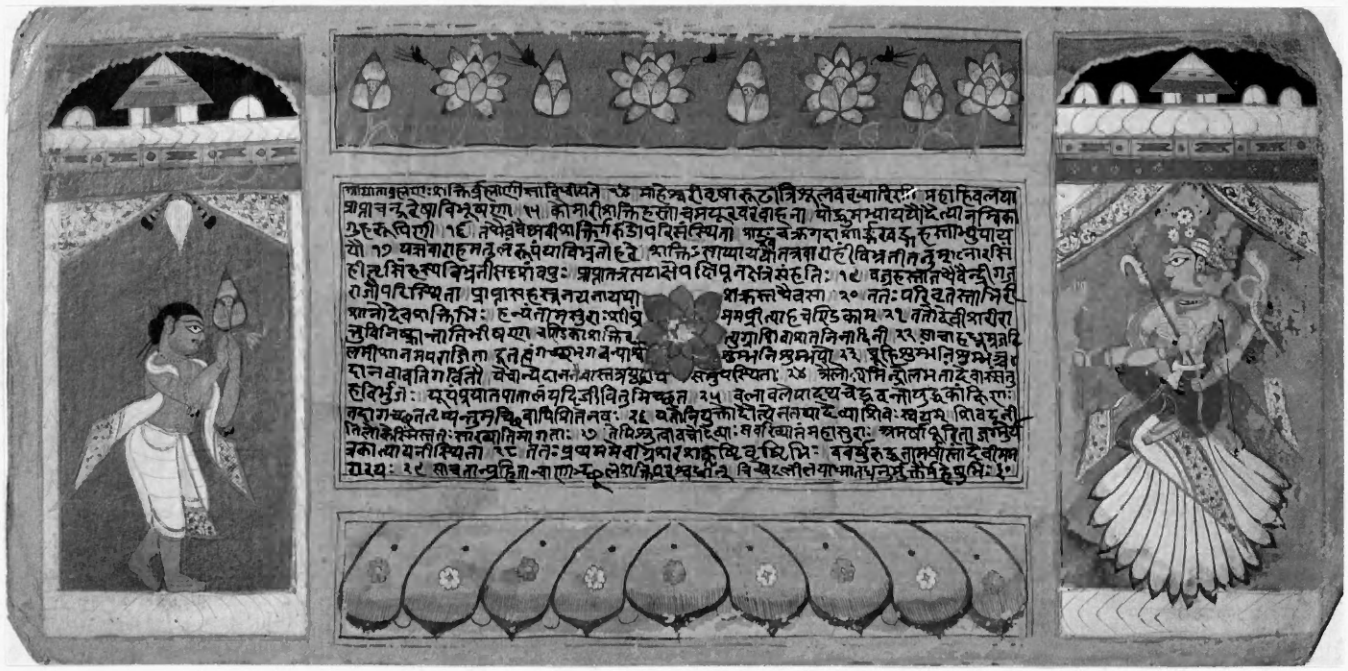
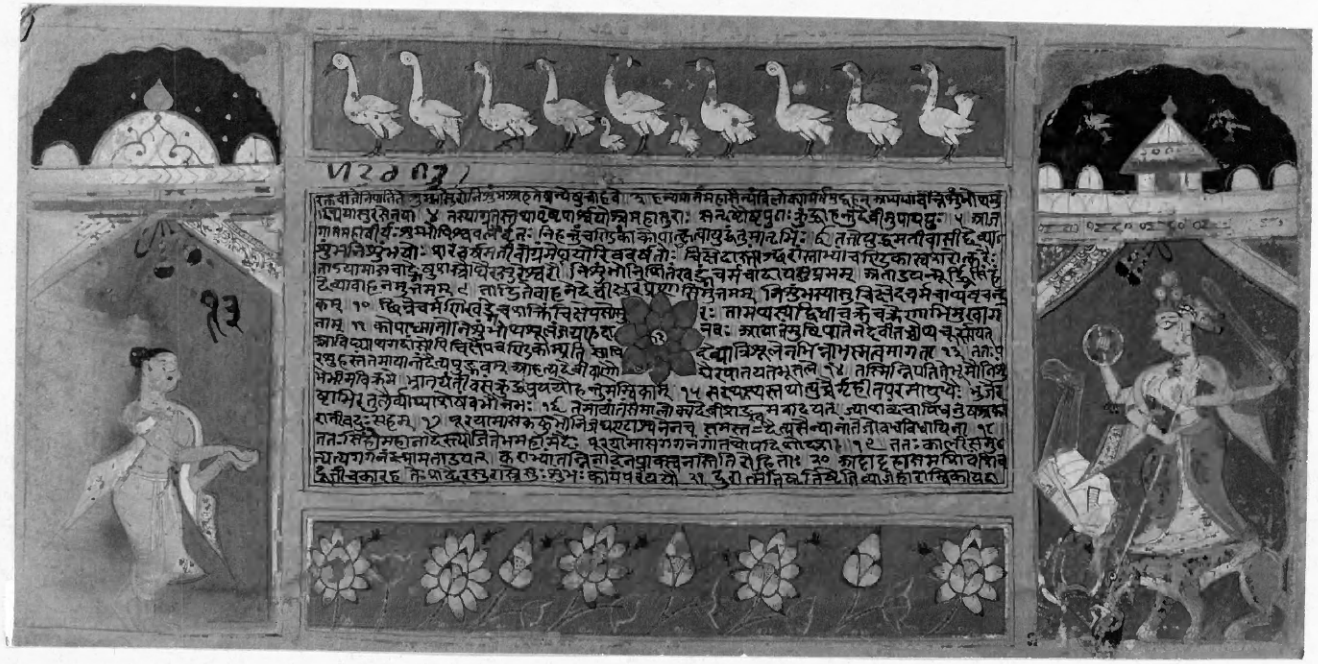


Folio 12A

Folio 12B

Folio 13A



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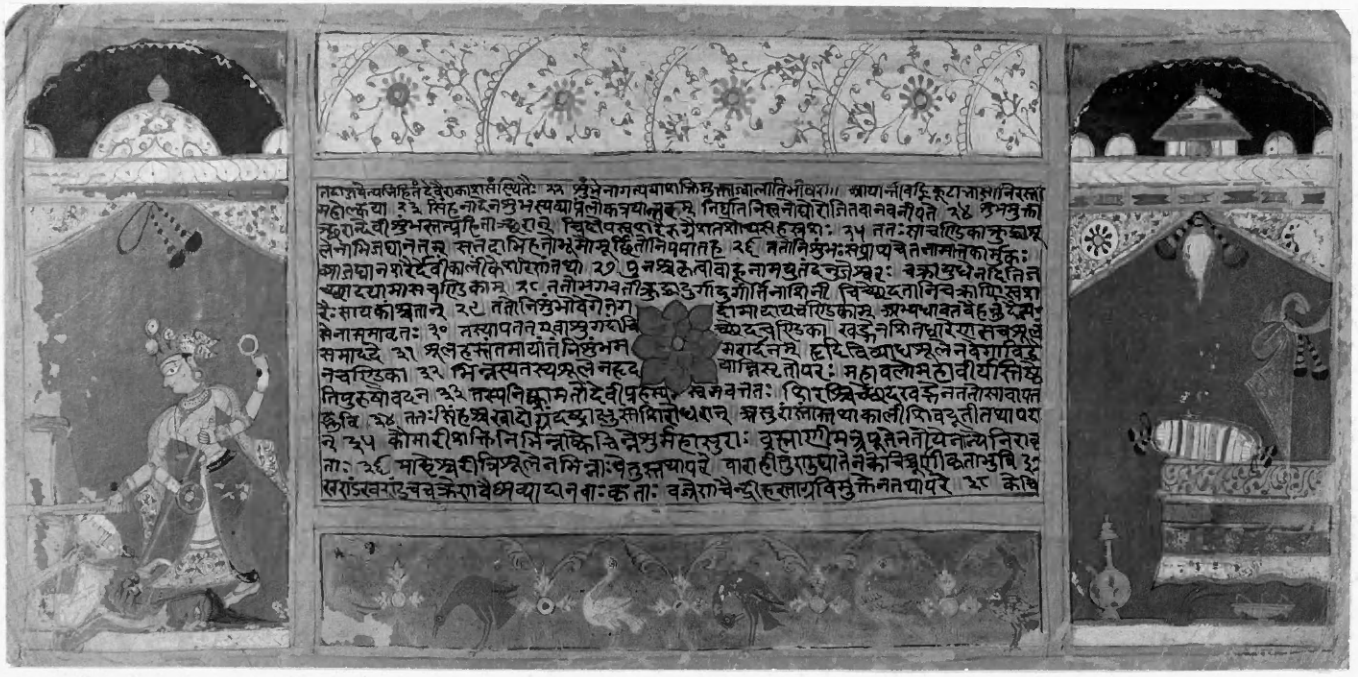

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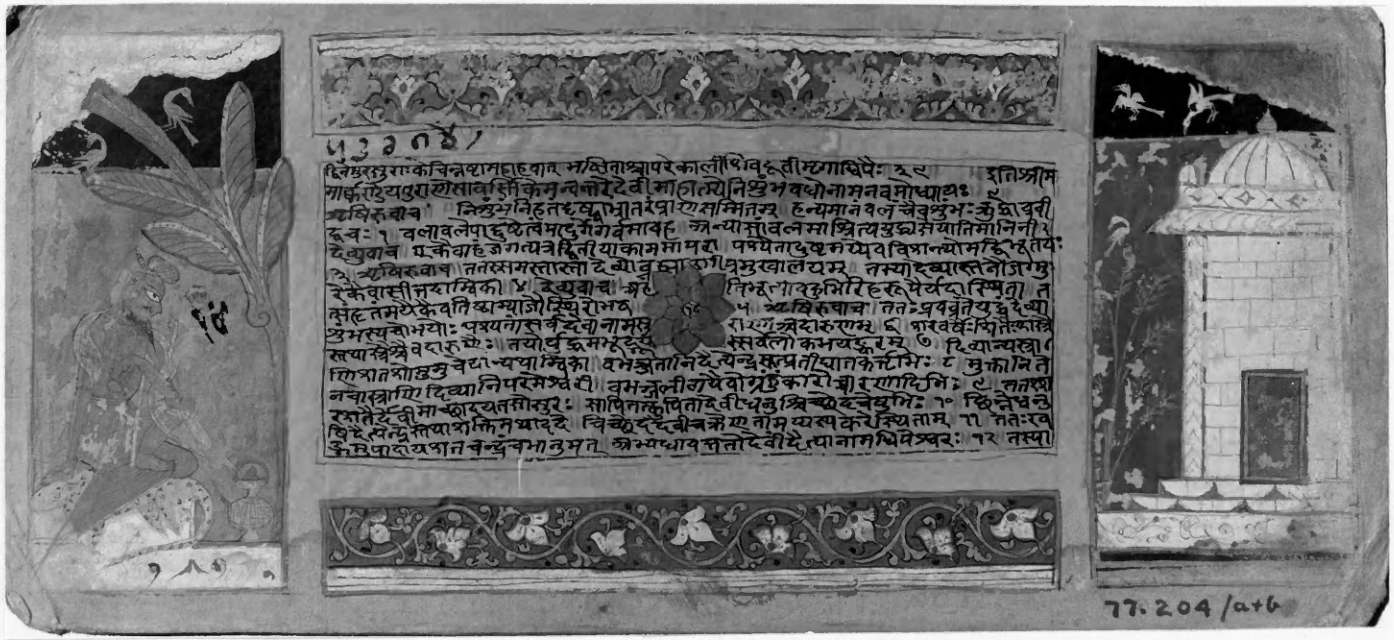
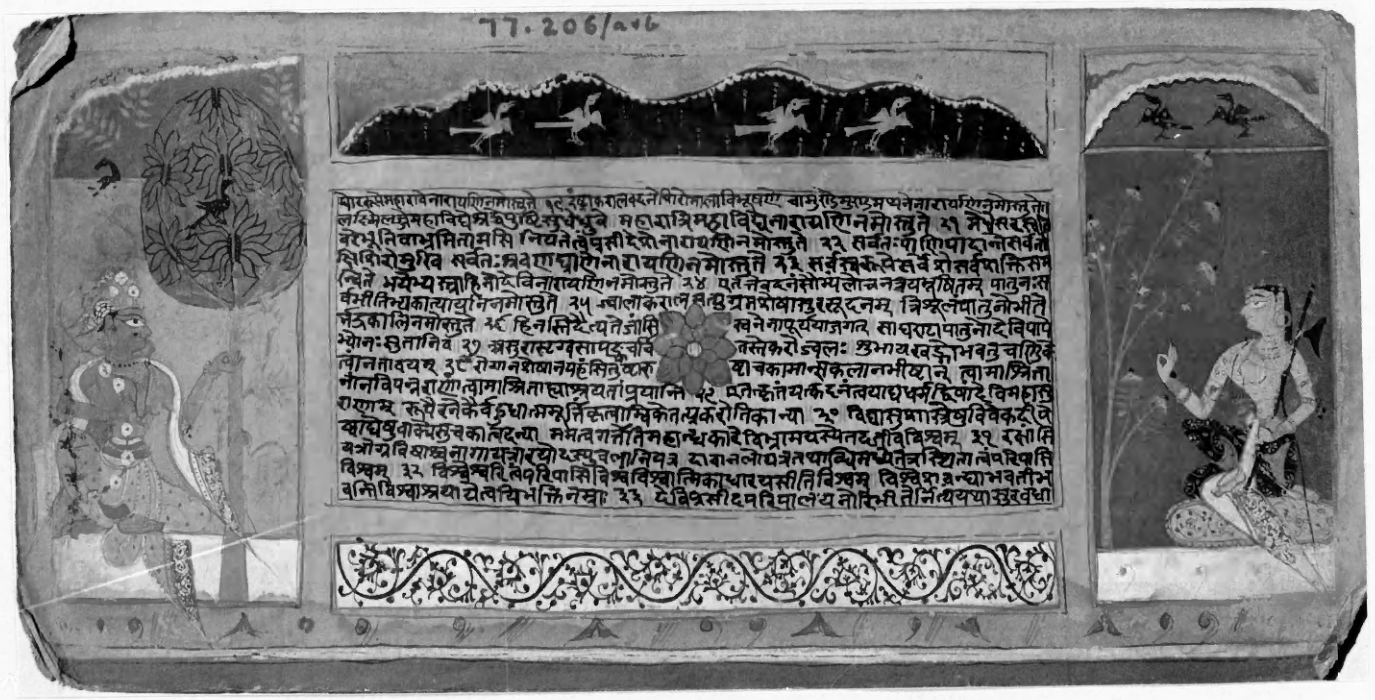


Folio 14B

Folio 15A

Folio 15B



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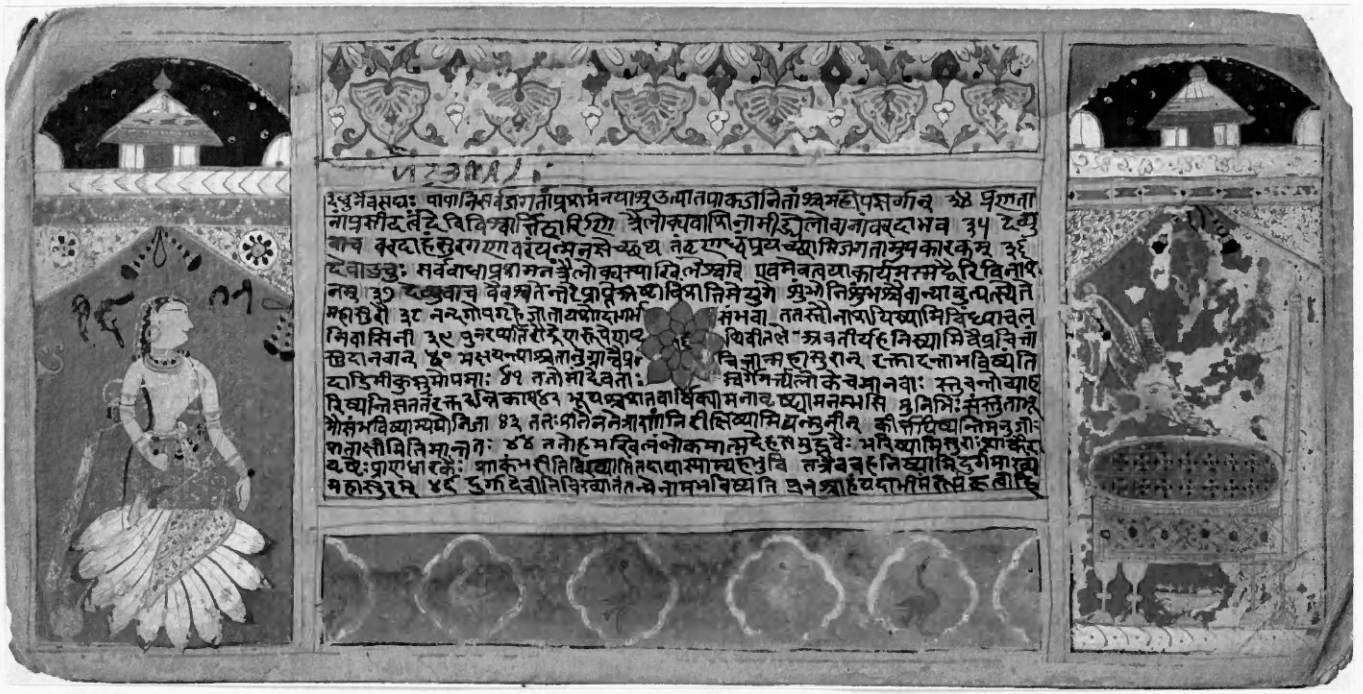

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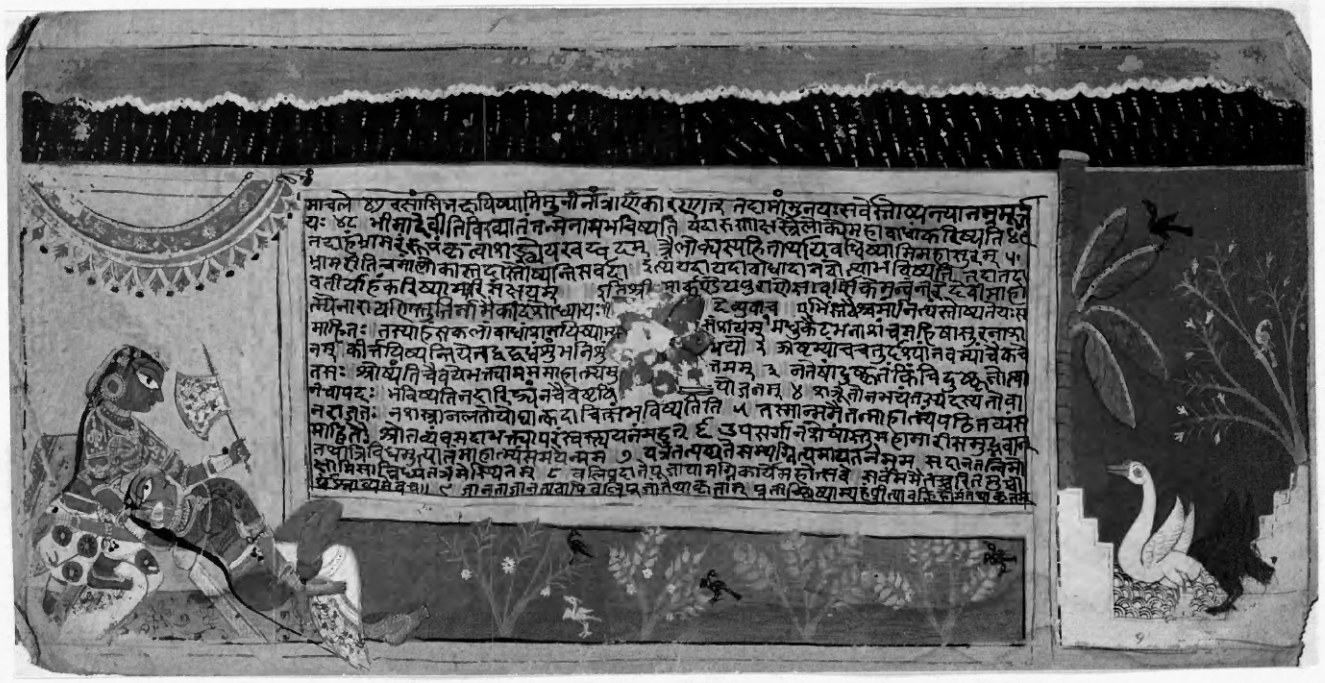

Folio 17A

Folio 17B

Folio 18B

Folio 18A

Fig. 1

Mahābhairavī, Himachel Pradesh, 11th century, brass, H:8½ in.
Pan Asian Collection

Fig. 2

Ambikā, Madhya Pradesh, 9th century, stone, H:11½ in. Prince of Wales Museum, 66.55

Fig. 3

Gaja Lakṣmī, Northwest India/ Pakistan, 4th century, black chlorite, H:8 in. Peter Marks Collection, New York

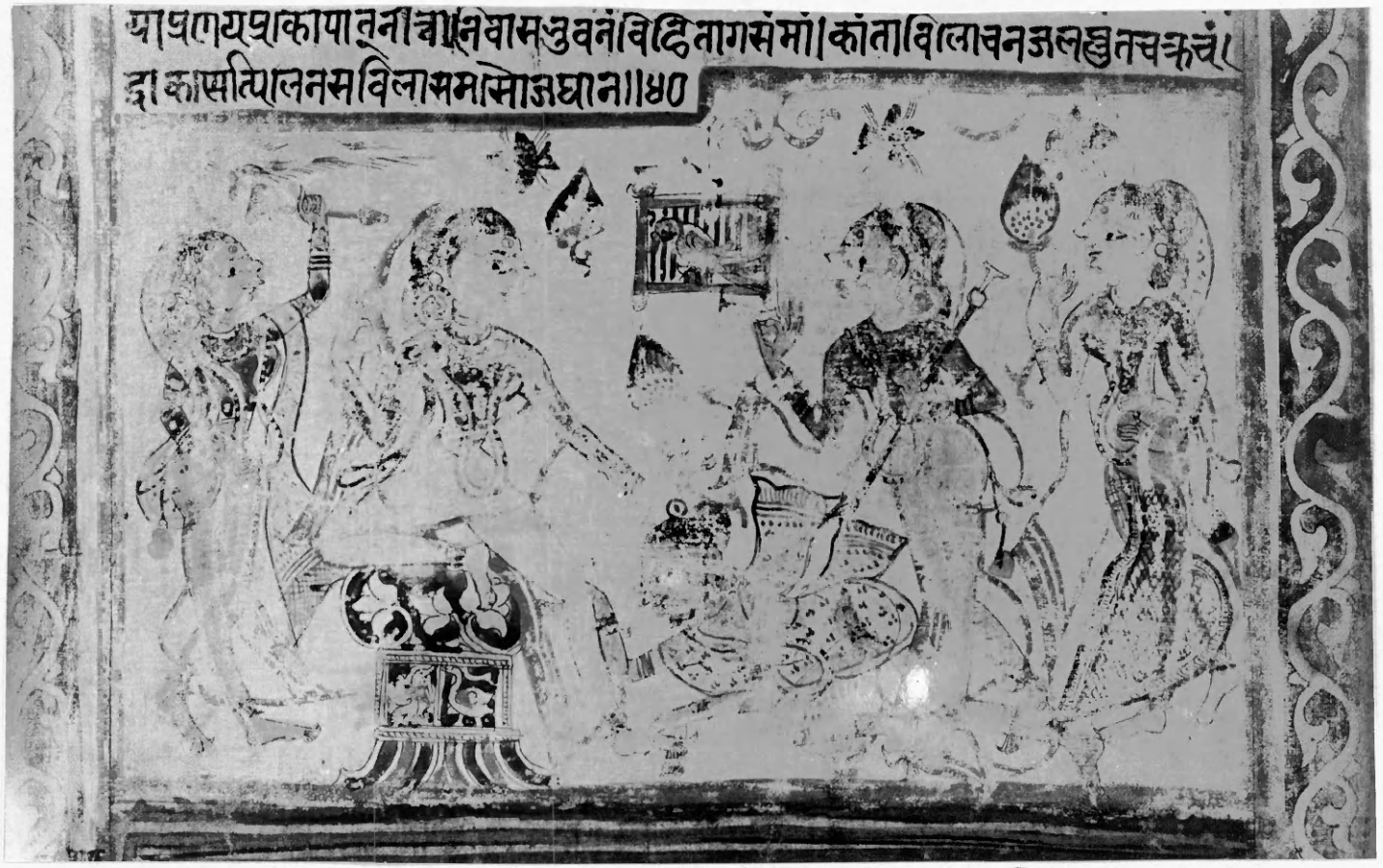

Fig. 4

Scene from the Vasanta Vilāsa, Western India, dated 1451, opaque watercolor on cloth, W:9 in. Freer Gallery of Art, 32.42, scene 35

Fig. 5

Bilhaṇa pleads with Champāvatī, folio from the Caurapañcāśikā, Uttar Pradesh, c.1540-1560, opaque watercolor on paper, 6½x8½ in. Gujarat Museum Society, Ahmedabad

Fig. 6

Rāmakalī Rāginī, folio from the "Suri" Rāgamālā, Uttar Pradesh, c.1520-1540, opaque watercolor on paper, 4½x5 in. Goenka Collection, New Delhi

Fig. 7

Svādhinapatikā Nāyakā, folio from a Rasikapriyā series, Popular Mughal at Agra, c.1610, opaque watercolor on paper, 5¼ x4 3/4 in. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 15.60A

Fig. 8

Scene from the Vasanta Vilāsa, Western India, dated 1451, opaque watercolor on cloth, W:9 in. Freer Gallery of Art, 32.42, scene 14

Fig. 9

Deśavarāṭī Rāgiṇī, folio from the "Suri" Rāgamālā, Uttar Pradesh, c.1520-1540, opaque watercolor on paper, 4½x5 in. Goenka Collection, New Delhi

Fig. 10

Scene from the Vasanta Vilāsa, Western India, dated 1451, opaque watercolor on cloth, W:9 in. Freer Gallery of Art, 32.42, scene 39

Fig. 11

Ṭoḍi Rāgiṇī, folio from a Rāgamālā series, Madhya Pradesh, Malwa, c.1600, opaque watercolor on paper, 7½x6½ in. Bharat Kala Bhavan, 9147

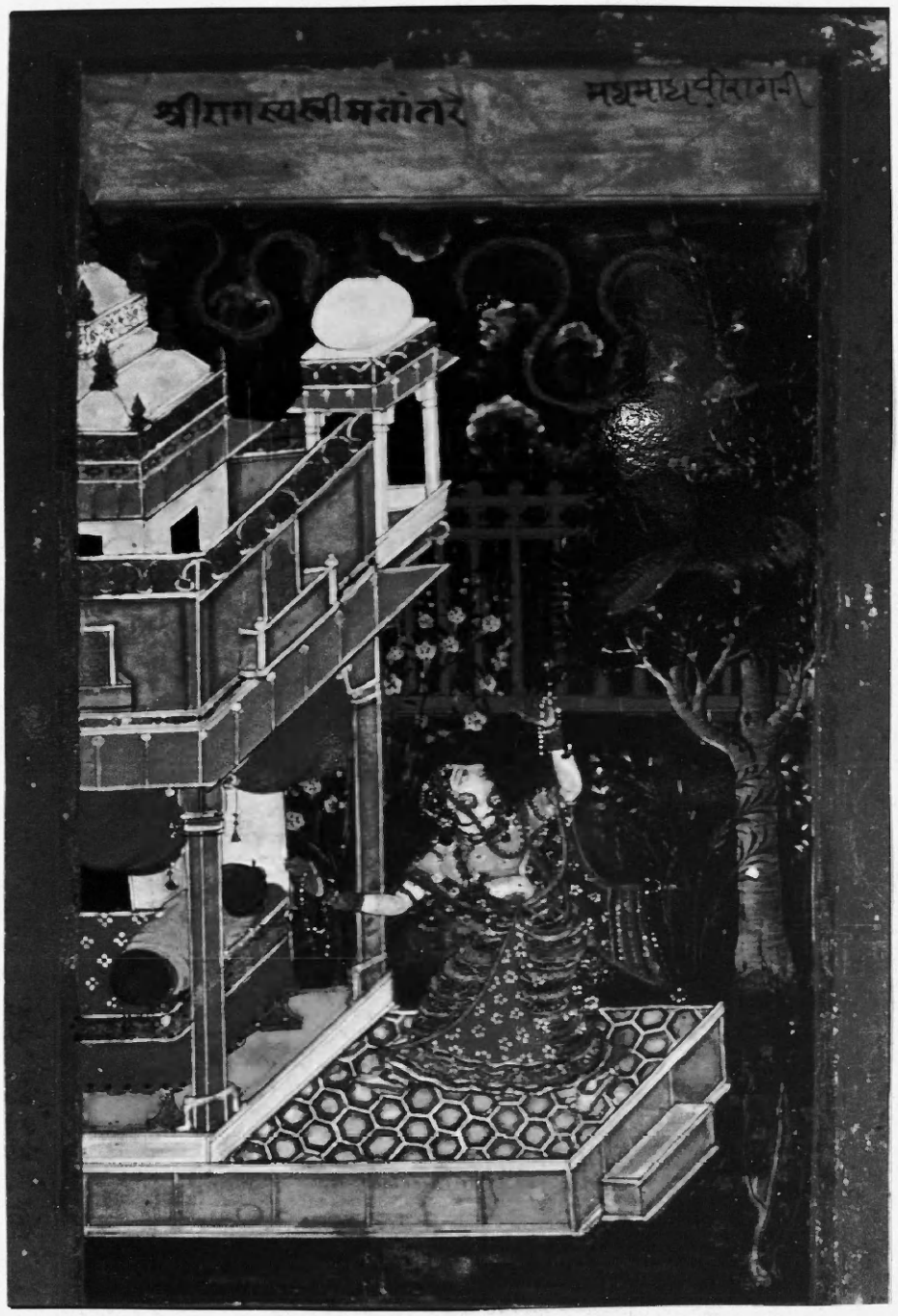

Fig. 12

Madhumādhavī Rāginī, folio from a Rāgamālā series, Bundi style at Chunar (Benares), dated 1591, opaque watercolor on paper, 10x6 in. Mittal Museum, Hyderabad

Fig. 13

Baṇgālā Rāginī, folio from the "Suri" Rāgamālā, Uttar Pradesh, c.1520-1540, opaque watercolor on paper, 4½x5 in. Goenka Collection, New Delhi

Fig. 14

Paṭamañjarī Rāginī, folio from the "Suri" Rāgamālā, Uttar Pradesh, c.1520-1540, opaque watercolor on paper, 4½x5 in. Goenka Collection, New Delhi

Fig. 15

Nāyikā and Sakhī in Conversation, folio from a Rasikapriyā series, Popular Mughal at Agra, c.1610, opaque watercolor on paper, 5¼x4 3/4 in. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 15.60D

Fig. 16

Draupadī and Satyabhāmā Conversing, folio from the Āranyaka Parvan, Agra, dated 1516, opaque watercolor on paper, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Asiatic Society of Bombay

Fig. 17

The Nāyaka in Conversation with the Dūtikā, folio from a Rasikapriyā series, Popular Mughal at Agra, c.1610, opaque watercolor on paper, 5¼x4 3/4 in. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 21.1323

Fig. 18

Women swoon at the Sound of Mādhava's Music, folio from a Mādhavānalkāmakandalā series, Bilaspur, c.1700, opaque water-color on paper, 7x11 in. Private Collection, Los Angeles

Fig. 19 Viṣṇu Uproots the Parijata Tree, folio from a dispursed Bhāgavata Purāna, Uttar Pradesh, c.1540-1560, opaque watercolor on paper, 7x9¼ in. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.72.1.26

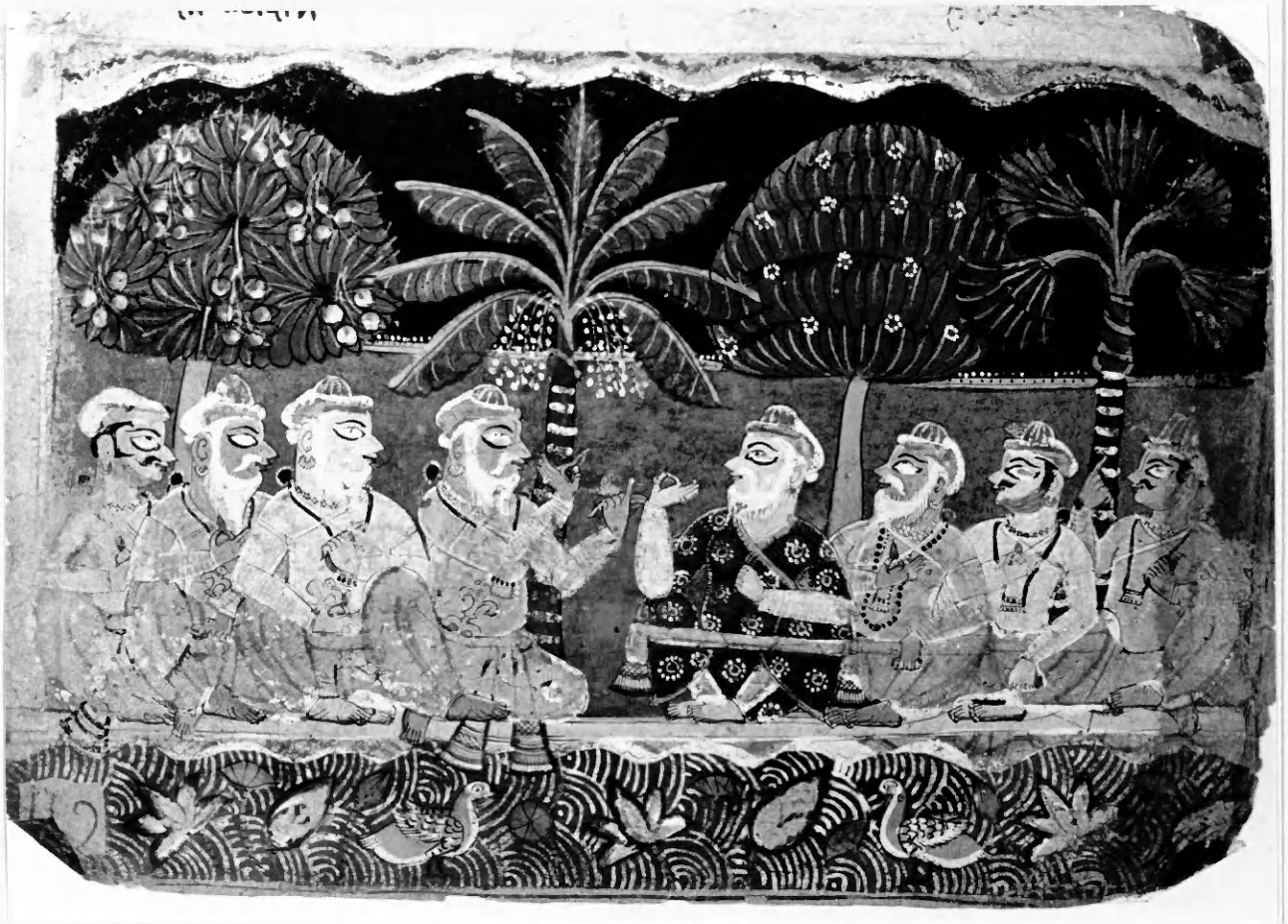

Fig. 20

King Parikshit and Riṣis, folio from a dispursed Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Uttar Pradesh, c.1540-1560, opaque watercolor on paper, 7x9¼ in. Cleveland Museum of Art, 60.53

Fig. 21

Kriṣṇa Spies on the Gopīs in the Jumna River, folio from the "Issarda" Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Uttar Pradesh, c.1570-1580, opaque watercolor on paper, 7½x10 in. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 72.260

Fig. 22

Bilhaṇa Greets Champāvatī, folio from the Caurapañcāśikā, Uttar Pradesh, c.1540-60, opaque watercolor on paper, 6½x8½ in. Gujarat Museum Society, Ahmedabad

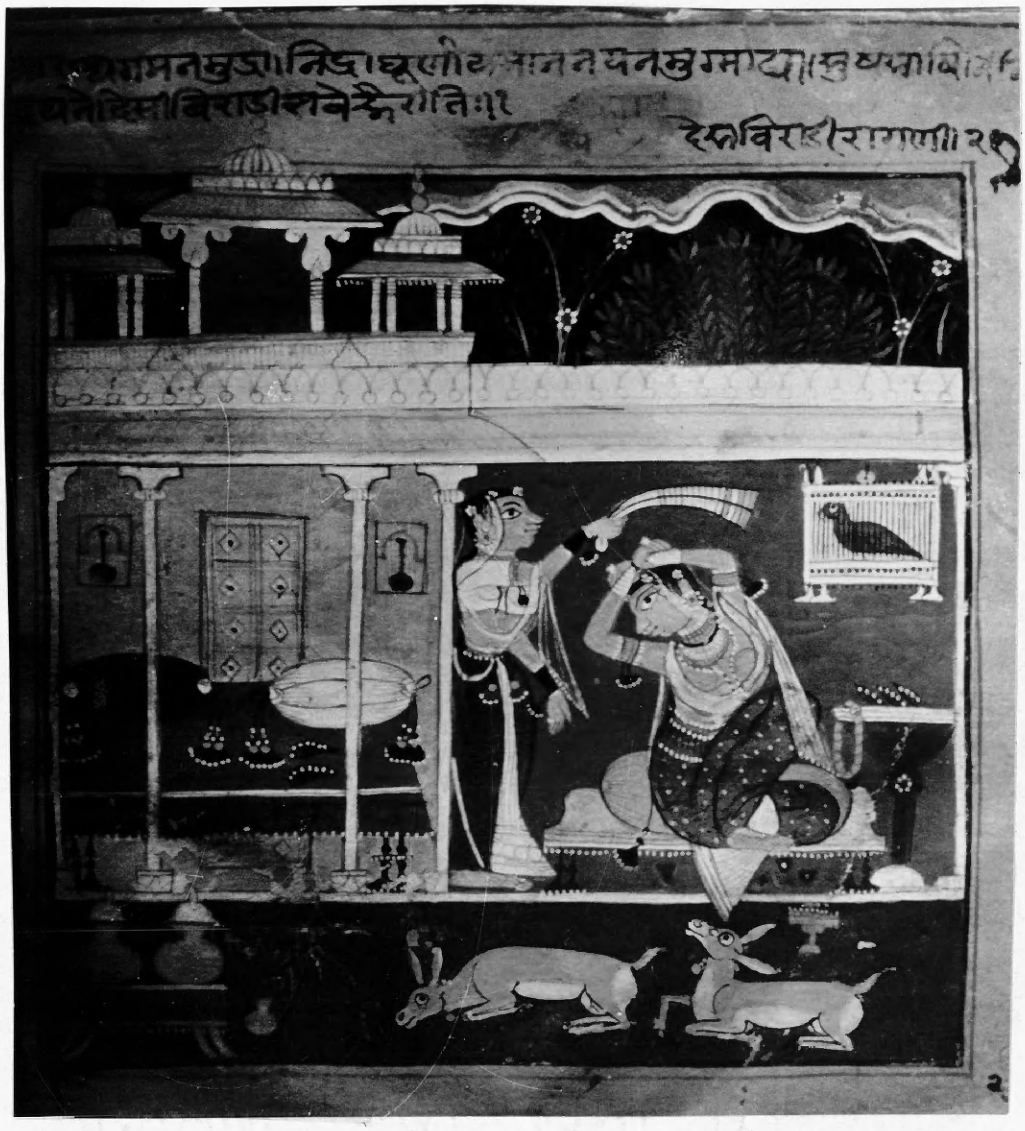

Fig. 23

Deśavarāṭī Rāgiṇī, folio from a Rāgamālā series, Chawand (Mewar), dated 1605, opaque watercolor on paper, 7½x7 in. Paul F. Walter Collection, New York

Fig. 24

Maina in her Bedchamber, Laur Hearing about her Condition, folio from a Laur Chand series, Jaunpur, c.1525-1540, opaque watercolor on paper, $7\frac{1}{4}$x$5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Prince of Wales Museum

Fig. 25

Folio from the Devaśānopāḍa Kalpasūtra, Western India, c.1475, opaque watercolor on paper, 5x10 in. Goenka Collection, New Delhi

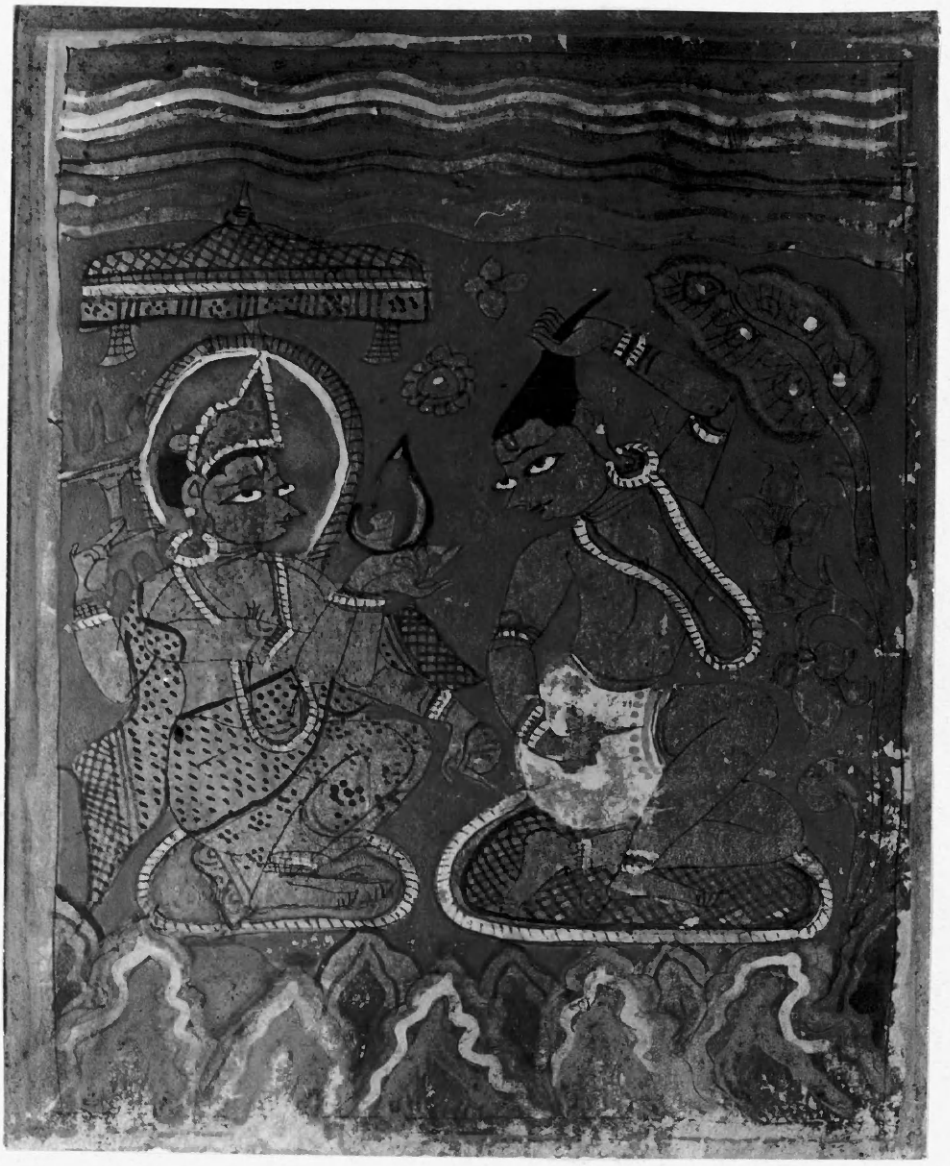

Fig. 26

Tonsure Ceremony, folio from a Kalpasūtra manuscript, Western India, c.1500, opaque watercolor on paper, 4½x9 in. Los Angeles County Museum of Art

Fig. 27

Smokeless Fire, folio from a Kalpasūtra manuscript, Western India, c.1550, opaque watercolor on paper, Unknown Collection

Fig. 28

Animal Scroll, detail of the inside cover of a Jain manuscript, Western India, c.1525, opaque watercolor on wood, Swali Collection, Bombay

Fig. 29
Glorious Sun, folio from a Kalpasūtra manuscript, Western India, c.1475, opaque watercolor on paper, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Fig. 30
Sugrīva pleads with the Devī, folio from a Devimahatmya manuscript, Western India, c.1450, opaque watercolor on paper, 4½x7 in. Baroda Museum PG.5F.1

Fig. 31

Fiery Death of Dhūmralocana, folio from a Devīmāhātmya manuscript, Western India, c.1450, opaque watercolor on paper, 4½x7 in. Baroda Museum PG.5F.1

Fig. 32

Map of Part of Himachal Pradesh State and the Pahari Hills, c.1850

Fig. 33

Mahishāsuramardinī, Himachal Pradesh, c.13th century, bronze, H:8½ in. National Museum, New Delhi, 68.49

Fig. 34

Bhāgwanjī and Gosainjī in Discussion, Nurpur, c.1700, opaque watercolor on paper, National Museum, New Delhi, 47.110/340

Fig. 35

Chakrapurusha, Kashmir, 6th-7th century, bronze, Alsdorf Collection, Chicago

Fig. 36

Priest at pūjā, Mandi, c.1740, opaque watercolor on paper, 8x8 in. Sven Gahlin Collection, London

Fig. 37

Celebration at the Birth of Kriṣṇa, folio from a Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Mankot, c.1710, opaque watercolor on paper, 8x12¼ in. Chandigarh Museum

Fig. 38

Rājā Dip Chand of Bilaspur listens to Musicians, Bilaspur, c.1660, opaque watercolor on paper, 9 3/4x12¼ in. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 120.1954

Fig. 39

Praudhā-Adhīrā Nāyikā, folio from a Rasamanjari series, Basohli, c.1660-1670, opaque watercolor on paper, 9½x13 in. Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu